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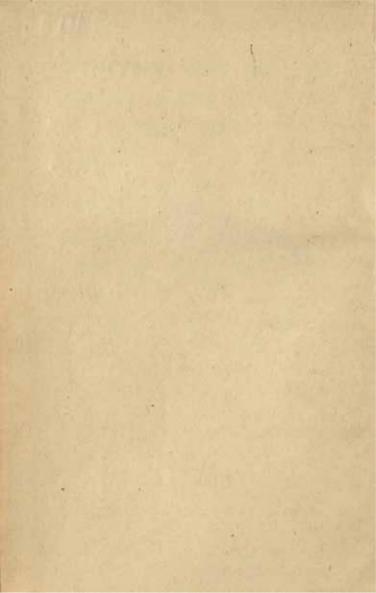
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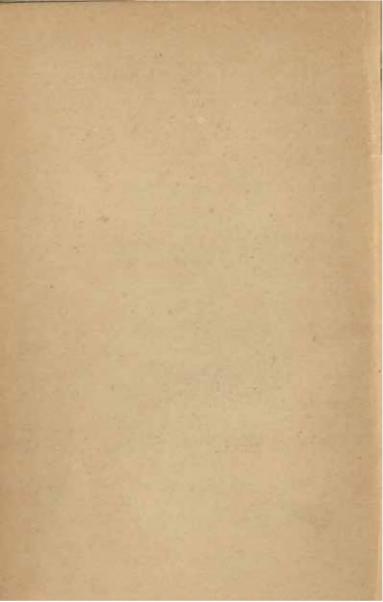
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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

VI



WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY EARNEST CARY, Pu.D.

OF THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, PH. D.

IN NINE VOLUME

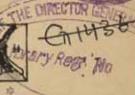
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CONTENTS LARGEST

						*34	R.G.	PAUR
BOOK Lt .	*2.30	W. L		- 100		. 13	W 2001	2
BOOK LII	11.9		-2-	LA.	CT 5	100	Park.	78
BOOK MIII				A.		13.1	e stars	192
BOOK LIV.	7 1		7411			22(3)	or needs	280
BOOK LY .		100		130	500		15 5	376
INDEX .								485



VOL. VI.

BOOK LI

Τάδε Ενεστικ δε τῷ πεντηκυστῷ πρώτφ τῶν Δίωτος 'Ρωμαϊκών

α. 'Δι Καίσορ νικήσαι περί "Ακτιον τά παράντα διέθετο.

- B. Repl 'Arterior nal Khentarpas nal de Impular perà ripe STTEP.
- 7. 'As 'Arrivus irraficis de Alyberto davelo Ariaretes.

δ. 'Οι Καίσας Αίγυπτου έχειρώσατο.

- *. "De Kaisas is Paujo flate sai và impiesa fyayer.
- По то Вордентирном то Тобдин кайтериба.

m. 'As Mugla lake.

Χμόνου πλήθος τα λοιπά της Καίσσρυς το γ' καί Μ. Οδαλερίου Καρουίουυ Μεσσάλου υπατείας και Σλλα έτη δύα έν ολς άρχουνες οί applicationers ofthe dylenors

Kniser vi & M. Airlevius M. ol. Kpássus 1 5m. Kaiona the Tiftos 'Armalios 2 Zifton vi. Fr.

Τοιαύτη τις ή ναυμαχία αυτών τη δευτέρα του Σεπτεμβρίου έγένετο, τοῦτο δε ούκ άλλως είπον (ούδε γαρ είωθα αύτο ποιείν) άλλ' ότι τότε πρώτον ο Καίσαρ το κράτος πῶν μόνος ἐσχεν. 2 ώστε καὶ τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τών τῆς μοναρχίας

¹ Spicoor supplied by H. Steph.

^{2 &#}x27;Awarding Cary, amounties M, amounter V.

ROOK LI

The following is contained in the Fifty first of Dio's Rome : -

How Caesar after his victory at Actium settled matters of immediate concern (chape, 1-4).

Concerning Antony and Cleopatra and their movements after their defeat (chaps, 5-8).

How Antony, defeated in Egypt, killed himself (chaps. 9-10).

How Caesar subdued Egypt chaps, 15-18).

How Caesar came to Rome and celebrated his triumph (chap. 21).

How the Curia Inlia was desticated (chap. 22). How Moesia was conquered (chaps, 23-27).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (III) and M. Valerius Curvinus Messalla, together with two additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :

30 Caesar (IV), M. Lacinius M. F. Crassus. 29 Cassar (V), Sextus Apuleius Sexti F.

Such was the naval battle in which they engaged ac at on the second of September. I do not mention this date without a particular reason, nor am 1, in fact, accustomed to do so; but Caesar now for the first time held all the power alone, and consequently

⁵ or, supplied by Bs.

αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἀκριβοῦσθαι.
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆ τῷ τε ᾿Απώλλωνι τῷ ᾿Ακτίῳ τριήρη
το καὶ τετρήρη, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἔξῆς μέχρι δεκήρους, ἐκ τῶν αἰχμηλώτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ
ναὸν μείζω ῷκοδόμησεν, ἀγῶνά τέ τινα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ μουσικῆς ἐπποδρομίας τε πεντετηρικὸν
ἱερόν (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὴν σίτησιν ἔχοντας ἐνομάζουσι) κατέδειξεν, ᾿Ακτια αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας.
πάλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς
μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ΄ ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνώκισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῆ δούς.
τό τε χωρίον ἐν ῷ ἐσκήνησε, λίθοις τε τετραπέδοις
ἐκρηπίδωσε καὶ τοῖς άλοῦσιν ἐμβόλοις ἐκόσμησεν, ἔδος τι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ ᾿Απόλλωνος ὑπαίθριον
ἱδουσάμενος.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο, τότε δὲ μέρος μέν ¹ τι τῶν νεῶν ἐς δίωξιν τοῦ τε 'Αντωνίου καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔστειλε' καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ ὁ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει ² ἐφαίνοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τὸ τάφρευμα αὐτῶν, μηδενὸς ἐναντιουμένου δι' ὀλιγότητα, ἔλαβε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν στρατὸν ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἀπιώντα καταλαβῶν ἀμαχεὶ παρεστήσατο.

5 ήδη δέ καὶ διέφυγου άλλοι τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αντώνιου, οἱ δ᾽ ἔτεροι οἱ συμμαχήσαυτες αὐτῷ οἰκαδε. οὑ μέντοι γε καὶ ἀντεπολέμησαν οὐτοι γε ἔτι τῷ Καίσαρι,

nie Bk., Je VM.

² в котодифия R. Steph., браставфия VM.

ROOK LI

the years of his reign are properly reckoned from Boan that day. In honour of the day he dedicated to Apollo of Actium from the total number of the captured vessels a trireme, a quadrireme, and the other ships in order up to one of ten banks of oars; and he built a larger temple. He also instituted a quadreunial musical and gymnastic contest, including horse-racing,-a "sacred" festival, as they call those in connexion with which there is a distribution of food,-and entitled it Actia. Furthermore. he founded a city on the site of his camp by gathering together some of the neighbouring peoples and dispossessing others, and he named it Nicopolis.2 On the spot where he had had his tent, he laid a foundation of square stones, adorned it with the captured beaks, and erected on it, open to the sky, a shrine of Apollo.

But these things were done later. At the time he sent a part of the fleet in parsuit of Antony and Cleopatra; these ships, accordingly, followed after the fugitives, but when it became clear that they were not going to overtake them, they returned. With his remaining vessels he captured the enemy's entrenchments, meeting with no opposition because of their small numbers, and then overtook and without a battle won over the rest of the army, which was retreating into Macedonia. There were various important contingents that had already escaped; of these the Romans fled to Antony and the allies to their homes. The latter, however, no longer fought

1 Dio is very careful to date each emperor's reign pre-

eisely. Cf. Preface to vol. i. p. xiii.

2 i.e. "City of Victory." The same name had been given by Pompey to a town founded after his defeat of Mithri-dates. See xxxvi. 50.

άλλα καθ' ήσυχίαν και έκεινοι και οι δημοι πάντες, δσοι και πρότερον ερρωμάιζον, οι μέν 2 εὐθύς οι δε και μετά τουθ' ώμολόγησαν. και δς τας μέν πόλεις χρημάτων τε έσπράξει και της λοιπής ές τους πολίτας σφών έν ταις εκκλησίαις έξουσίας παραιρέσει μετήλθε, τούς δέ δή δυνάστας τούς τε βασιλέας τὰ μέν χωρία, όσα παρά τοῦ 'Αυτωνίου είλήφεσαν, πάντας πλήν τοῦ τε 'Αμύν-2 του και του Αργελάου άφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα δέ του Ταρκουδιμότου και Λυκομήδην έν μέρει του Καππαδοκικού Πόντου βασιλεύοντα του τε Αλέξανδρον του του Ιαμβλίχου άδελφον και των δυναστειών έπαυσε και τούτου, ότι μισθών αυτήν της έκείνου κατηγορίας είλήφει, καί ές τά 3 έπινέκια παραγαγών άπέκτεινε, την δέ του Δυκομήδους Μηδείω τινί έδωκεν, ότι τούς τε Μυσούς τους ι έν τη Ασία ἀπὸ τοῦ Αντωνίου πρό τῆς ναυμαγίας απέστησε, και μετ' αυτών τοις έν τή μερίδι αὐτοῦ οὐσιν ἐπολέμησε. Κυδωνιάτας * τε και Λαμπαίους ελευθέρους άφηκεν, ότι τινά αυτώ συνήραντο και τοις γε Λαμπαίοις και την πόλιν 4 άνεστώσαν συγκατώκισε. τών τε βουλευτών καὶ τῶν ἐππέων τῶν τε άλλων τῶν κορυφαίων των συμπραξάντων τι τω Αντωνίω πολλούς μέν χρήμασιν έξημίωσε, πολλούς δέ και έφονευσε, καί τινων και έφείσατο, και έν μεν τούτοις δ τε Σόσσιος επιφανής εγένετο (πολλάκις τε γάρ άντιπολεμήσας αύτώ και τότε φυγών και κατακρυφθείς, χρόνω τε ύστερον ευρεθείς, όμως έσώθη ε και Μάρκος τις Σκαύρος άδελφος τε γάρ του Σέξτου όμομήτριος ών και θανατωθήναι κελευσθείς 1 rote supplied by St. 4 Kobandras Bk., subserdras VM. against Caesar, but both they and all the peoples ac # which had long been subject to Rome remained quiet and made terms, some at once and others later. Caesar now punished the cities by levying money and taking away the remnant of authority over their citizens that their assemblies still possessed. He deprived all the princes and kings except Amyntas and Archelans of the lands which they had received from Autony, and he also deposed from their thrones Philopator, the son of Tarcondimotus, Lycomedes, the king of a part of Cappadocian Pontus, and Alexander. the brother of lamblichus. The last-named, because he had secured his realm as a reward for accusing Caesar, he led in his triumphal procession and afterwards put to death. He gave the kingdom of Lycomedes to one Medeius, because the latter had detucked the Mysians in Asia I from Antony before the naval battle and with them had waged war upon those who were on Antony's side. He gave the people of Cydonia and Lampe " their liberty, because they had rendered him some assistance; and in the case of the Lampacans he helped them to found anew their city, which had been destroyed. As for the senators and knights and the other leaders who had aided Antony in any way, he imposed fines upon many of them, slew many others, and some he actually spared. In this last class Sosius was a conspicuous example; for though he had often fought against Caesar and was now hiding in exile and was not found until later, nevertheless he was saved. Likewise one Marcus Scaurus, a half-brother of Sextus on his mother's side, had been condemned to death,

Ci. note on xlix. 36. 2 Usually called Lappa.

είτα διὰ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Μουκίαν ἀφείθη. τῶν δὲ κολασθέντων ᾿Ακύλιοί τε Φλῶροι καὶ Κουρίων ὅνομα μάλιστ' ἔσχον, οὐτος μὲν ὅτι τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐκείνου τοῦ ποτε τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ πολλὰ ὅ συναραμένου υίὸς ἢν, οἱ δὲ δὴ Φλῶροι ὅτι τὸν ἔτερον τὸν λαχόντα κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφαγῆναι ἀμφότεροι διεφθάρησαν. ἢσαν μὲν γὰρ πατήρ τε καὶ παῖς ὡς δ' οὐτος πρὶν λαχεῖν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν τῷ σφαγεῖ ἐκῶν παρέδωκε, περιῆλγησέ τε ἐκεῖνος

και αὐτοχειρία αὐτῷ ἐπαπέθανεν.

3 Ούτοι μέν ούν ούτως ἀπηλλαξαν, ὁ δ' όμιλος των 'Αντωνιείων στρατιωτών ές τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ έπειτα τούς μέν πολίτας τους έξω της ηλικίας απ' αμφοτέρων, μηδέν μηδενί δούς, ές την Ιταλίαν απέπεμψε, 2 τους δε δη λοιπούς διέσπειρεν έπειδή γάρ έν τή Σικελία φοβεροί οί μετά την νίκην εγένοιτο, έδεισε μη και αυθις θορυβήσωσι, και δια τουτ έσπευσε, πρίν και ότιουν ύποκινηθήναι, τους μίν πουτελώς έκ των δπλων άπελάσαι, των δέ το 3 πλήθος διασπάσαι. τούς τε έξελευθέρους δι' ύποψίας έτι καὶ τότε έχων την τετάρτην αὐτοίς έσφοραν άφηκεν, ην έκ των προσταχθέντων σφίσι γρημάτων έπωφειλον, και ούτοι μέν ούχ ότι έστέρηντό τινων έμνησικάκουν έτι, άλλ' ώς καί 4 λαβόντες όσα μη συνεσήνεγκαν έχαιρον οί τε έν τῶ τεταγμένω ἔτι) καὶ τότε ἄντες, τὸ μέν τι πρὸς

του στρατιαρχών κατεχόμενοι, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστου ιτ: Lounel, έτα VM.

but was later released for the sake of his mother a.e. 25 Mucia. Of those who were punished, the Aquilii Flori and Curio were most talked about, the latter because he was a son of that Curio who had once been of great assistance to the former Caesar, and the Flori because, when Octavius commanded that the one of them who should draw the lot should be slain, they both perished. They were father and son, and when the son, without waiting for the lot, voluntarily offered himself to the executioner, the father was exceedingly distressed and died upon his son's

body by his own hand.

These men, then, fared in the manner described, The mass of Antony's soldiers was incorporated in Caesar's legions, and he later sent back to Italy the citizens of both forces who were over the military age, without giving them anything, and scattered the rest. For they had caused him to fear them in Sicily after his victory there, and he was afraid they might create a disturbance again; hence he made haste, before they gave the least sign of an uprising. to discharge some entirely from the service and to scatter the majority of the others. As he was still at this time suspicious of the freedmen, he remitted to them the fourth payment which they still owed of the money levied upon them.1 So they no longer bore him any grudge because of what had been taken from them, but rejoiced as if they had actually received the amount they had been relieved from contributing. The men still left in the rank and file also made no trouble, partly because they were held in check by their commanders, but chiefly because of their hopes

¹ i.r. one-quarter of the tax of 124 per cent, levied upon them a little earlier. See 1, 10, 4.

τή του Λίγυπτίου πλούτου έλπίδι, ούδεν ένεοχμωσαν οί δε δή συννικήσαντες αυτώ και της στρατείας άφεθέντες ήσχαλλον άτε μηδέν γέρας ευρόμενοι, και στασιάζειν ούκ ές μακράν ήρξαντο. 5 καίτοι 1 ό Καίσαρ ύποτοπήσας τε αύτούς, καὶ φοβηθείς μη του Μαικήνου, ώ και τότε ή τε Ρώμη και ή λοιπή Ιταλία προσετέτακτο, καταφρονήσωσιν ότι ίππευς ήν, τον Αγρίππαν ώς και κατ' άλλο τι ές την Ιταλίαν έπεμψε. και τοσαύτην γ' έπὶ πάντα καὶ έκεινω καὶ τῶ Μαικήνα έξουσίαν έδωκεν ώστε σφάς και τὰς επιστολάς, ας τή τε βουλή και τοις άλλοις έγραφε, προαναγιγνώσκειν. κάκ τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν όσα έβούλοντο. 6 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον έλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, ζει έπισφραγίζεσθαι αυτάς έχωσι. διπλήν γάρ δή σφραγίδα, ή μάλιστα τότε έχρητο, επεποίητο, σφίγγα έν έκατέρα όμοίαν έκτυπώσας. ὕστερον γάρ την είκουα την έαυτου έγγλύψας έκείνη τά 7 πάντα έσημαίνετο. καὶ αὐτῆ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αύτοκράτορες, πλην Γάλβου, έχρησαντο ούτος γάρ προγονικώ τινι σφραγίσματι, κύνα έκ πρώρας νεώς προκύπτοντα έχοντι, ενόμισεν. επέστελλε δέ και έκείνοις και τοις άλλοις τοις πάνυ φίλοις. όπότε τι δέοιτο δι' άπορρήτων σφίσι δηλώσαι, τὸ δεύτερον άει στοιχείον του τω ρήματι προσήκουτος αυτ' ἐκείνου αντεγγράφων.

4 Καὶ ὁ μέν, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἔτι δεινοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων ἐσομένου, τά τε ἐν τῆ Ἑλλάδι διώκησε καὶ τῶν τοῖν θεοῖν μυστηρίων μετελαβεν, ἔς τε τὴν ᾿Ασίαν κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκαθί-

¹ saires M, saires sal V.
2 Cxerr Niph., Cxerra VM.

of gaining the wealth of Egypt. The men, however, ac. at who had helped Caesar to gain his victory and had been dismissed from the service were irritated at having obtained no reward, and not much later they began to mutiny. But Caesar was suspicious of them and, since he feared that Maccenas, to whom on this occasion also Rome and the rest of Italy had been entrusted, would be despised by them inasmuch as he was only a knight, he sent Agrippa to Italy, ostensibly on some other mission. He also gave to Agripps and to Maccenas so great authority in all matters that they might even read beforehand the letters which he wrote to the senate and to others and then change whatever they wished in them. To this end they also received from him a ring, so that they might be able to seal the letters again. For he had caused to be made in duplicate the seal which he used most at that time, the design being a sphinx, the same on each copy; since it was not till later that he had his own likeness engraved upon his seal and scaled everything with that. It was this latter that the emperors who succeeded him employed, except Galba, who adopted a seal which his ancestors had used, its device being a dog looking out of a ship's prow. It was the custom of Caesar in writing to these two ministers and to his other intimate friends, whenever there was need of giving them secret information, to substitute in each case for the appropriate letter in a word the letter next in order after it.

Now Caesar, believing there would be no further danger from the veterans, administered affairs in Greece and took part in the Mysteries of the two goddesses.¹ He then went over into Asia and

¹ Demeter and Koré.

2 στατο, τά τε του 'Αντωνίου άμα έκαραδόκει οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι όπη διεπεφεύγει ἐπέπυστο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ώς και έπ' αυτον όρμησων, άν τι άκριβώση. θορυβησάντων δ' αύτων έν τούτω φανερώς άτε καὶ πολύ ἀπὸ σφών ἀπαρτώντος αύτου, έφοβήθη μή τι κακόν προστάτου τινός 3 λαβόμενοι δράσωσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' 'Αντώνιον μέν άλλοις αναζητήσαι προσέταξεν, αύτος δε ές την Ίταλίαν ήπείχθη μεσούντος του χειμώνος έν ώ τὸ τέταρτου μετά 1 Μάρκου Κράσσου ήρχευ ούτος γάρ, καίπερ τά τε του Σέξτου και τὰ του 'Αντωνίου πράξας, τότε μηδέ στρατηγήσας συνυπάτευσεν αύτω. ελθών δε ές το Βρεντέσιον ούκετι 4 περαιτέρω προυχώρησεν. έπεὶ γὰρ ή τε γερουσία πυθομένη τον πρόσπλουν αύτου πάσα έκείσε. πλήν τών τε δημάρχων καὶ στρατηγών δύο κατά δόγμα καταμεινώντων, άπήντησε, καὶ ή ίππὰς του τε δήμου το πλείου και έτεροι, οι μέν κατά πρεσβείας οι δε εθελονταί, πολλοί συνήλθον. s ούκετ' ούδεν ύπ' ούδενος πρός τε την άφιξιν αύτου καὶ πρός την των πλειόνων απουδήν ένεοχμώθη. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι, οἱ μὲν φόβω, οἱ δὲ ἐλπίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετάπεμπτοι, πρὸς το Βρεντέσιον άφίκοντο. καὶ αὐτών ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα έδωκε, τοίς δε διά παυτός αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασι ι και γήν προσκατένειμε. Τους γάρ δήμους τους

¹ мета М, мета той V. 2 праз М, Is V. 2 противенные М, противенные V.

settled matters there also, keeping watch meanwhile ac. 51 upon Antony's movements; for he had not yet learned anything definite regarding the refuge to which the other had fled, and so he was making preparations to proceed against him in case he should receive any precise information. But meanwhile the veterans made an open demonstration now that he was gone so far away from them, and he began to fear that if they found a leader they would cause some mischief. Consequently he assigned to others the task of seeking Antony, and hurried to Italy himself, in the middle of the winter of the year in which he was holding office for the fourth time, along with Marcus ac 20 Crassus. For Crassus, in spite of having sided with Sextus and with Antony, was then his fellow-consul even though he had not held the practorship. Caesar, then, came to Brundisiam, but proceeded no farther. For when the senate ascertained that his ship was nearing Italy, its members went there to meet him, all except the tribunes and two practors, who remained in Rome in pursuance of a decree; and the equestrian order as well as the greater part of the populace and still others, some as envoys and some of their own accord, came together there in large numbers, with the result that there was no further act of rebellion on the part of any one in view of his arrival and of the enthusiasm of the majority. For the veterans, too, had come to Brundisium, some of them induced by fear, some by hopes, and still others in response to a summons; and Caesar gave money to some of them, while to those who had served with him throughout his campaigns he also made an additional assignment of land. For by turning out of their homes the

έν τη Ίταλία τούς τὰ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου φρονήσαντας έξοικίσας τοίς μέν στρατιώταις τάς τε πόλεις καί τὰ γωρία αὐτών έγαρίσατο, ἐκείνων δὲ δὴ τοίς μεν πλείοσι τό τε Δυρράγιον και τούς Φιλίππους άλλα τε εποικείν αντέδωκε, τοις δε λοιποίς άργύριον άντι τής χώρας το μέν ένειμε το 7 δ' ύπέσχετο, συχνά μέν γάρ και έκ της νίκης έκτήσατο, πολλώ δὲ έτι πλείω ἀνήλισκε. καὶ διὰ τούτο και προέγραψεν έν τω πρατηρίω τά τε έαυτού κτήματα καὶ τὰ τῶν έταίρων, ΐνα ἄν τε πρίασθαί τι αυτών αν τε και άντιλαβείν τις 8 έθελήση, τούτο ποιήση. και επράθη μεν ούδεν, ούδ άντεδόθη ούδέν τίς γαρ αν και ετόλμησεν οποτερουούν αύτων πράξαι; της δε δη επαγγελίας1 άναβολήν έκ τούτου εὐπρεπή λαβών ύστερου αύτην έκ των Λίγυπτίων λαφύρων απήλλαξε.

5 Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐπείγοντα διοικήσας, τοῖς τέ τινα ἄδειαν λαβοῦσι καὶ ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία διαιτᾶσθαι (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν) δούς, καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη ὑπολειφθέντα παρέμενος ὅτι μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐθις τριακοστῆ μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξαν ἡμέρα ἀπῆρε,

2 και διά του ίσθμου του της Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναθς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερενεγκῶν οῦτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἀνεκομίσθη ὥστε καὶ τὸν ᾿Αντώνιον τήν τε Κλεοπάτραν ἐκάτερον ἄμα, καὶ ὅτι ἀφωρ-

3 μήθη καὶ ὅτι ἐπανῆλθε, μαθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ τότε ἐκ τῆς νανμαχίας ἔφυγον, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Πελοποι-

¹ draypedies Xyl., anappedier VM.

communities in Italy which had sided with Antony ac 20 he was able to grant to his soldiers their cities and their farms. To most of those who were dispossessed he made compensation by permitting them to settle in Dyrrachium, Philippi, and elsewhere, while to the remainder he either granted money for their land or else promised to do so; for though he had acquired great sums by his victory, yet he was spending still more by far. For this reason he advertised at nuction both his own possessions and those of his companions, in order that any one who desired to purchase any of them, or to take any of them in exchange for something else, might do so. And although nothing was purchased, and nothing taken in exchange, either-for who, pray, would ever have dared follow either course?-yet he secured by this means a plausible excuse for delay in carrying out his promise, and later he discharged the debt out of the spoils of Egypt.

After settling this and the other business that pressed, giving to those who had received a grant of amnesty the right also to live in Italy, not before permitted them, and forgiving the populace which had remained behind in Rome for not having gone to meet him, he set out once more for Greece on the thirtieth day after his arrival. Then, because it was winter, he carried his ships across the isthmus of the Peloponnesus 1 and got back to Asia so quickly that Antony and Cleopatra learned at one and the same time both of his departure and of his return. They, it appears, when they had made their escape from the naval battle at Actium, had gone as far as the

³ In order to avoid the dangerous passage around Cape-Males.

νήσου όμου άφικοντο, έντεύθεν δέ τῶν συνόντων τινάς, δσους ύπώπτευου, άποπέμψαντες (πολλοί δε και ακύντων αυτών απεγώρησαν) Κλεοπάτρα μέν ές την Λίγυπτον, μή τι της συμφοράς σφων 4 προπυθόμενοι νεωτερίσωσιν, ήπείχθη, καὶ όπως γε και του πρόσπλουν άσφαλή ποιήσηται, τάς τε πρώρας ώς και κεκρατηκυία κατέστεψε και πούς τινας επινικίους όπ' αύλητων ήδεν έπει δε έν τω ασφαλεί έγενετο, πολλούς μεν τών πρώτων, άτε και αξί οι ι αχθομένων και τότε έπι τη συμφορά δ αυτής επηρμένων, εφονευσε, πολύν δε και πλούτον έκ τε των έκείνων κτημάτων και έκ των άλλων καὶ όσίων καὶ θείων, μηδενός μηδέ των πάνυ άβάτων ίερων φειδομένη, ήθροιζε, δυνάμεις τε έξηρτύετο καὶ συμμαχίας περιεσκόπει, του τε Αρμένιον αποκτείνασα την κεφαλήν αυτού τώ Μήδω, ώς και επικουρήσοντί σφισι δια τούτ, α έπεμινεν. 'Αντώνιος δε έπλευσε μεν ές την Λιβύην πρός τε Πινάριον Σκάρπον και πρός τὸ στράτευμα τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆ τῆς Αἰγύπτου φυλακή ένταθθα προσυνειλεγμένου έπει δ' ούτε προσδέξεσθαι αύτον έφη, και προσέτι και τούς προπεμφθέντας ύπ' αυτού έσφαξε, τών τε στρατιωτών ών ήρχεν αγανακτήσαντάς τινας έπλ τούτω διέφθειρεν, ούτω δη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς την

'Αλεξάνδρειαν μηδέν περάνας έκομίσθη.

[!] of M, om, V,

³ for supplied by Lennel.

BOOK LI

Peloponnesus together; from there, after they had so to first dismissed a number of their associates whom they suspected,-many, too, withdrew against their wishes, Cleopatra had hastened to Egypt, for fear that her subjects would begin a revolt if they heard of the disaster before her arrival. And in order to make her approach, too, safe she crowned her prows with garlands as if she had actually won a victory, and had songs of triumph chanted to the accompaniment of flute-players. But as soon as she had reached safety, she slew many of the foremost men, inasmuch as they had always been displeased with her and were now elated over her disaster; and she proceeded to gather vast wealth from their estates and from various other sources both profance and sacred, sparing not even the most holy shrines, and also to fit out her forces and to look about for allies. She put to death the Armenian king and sent his head to the Mede, who might be induced thereby. she thought, to aid them. Antony, for his part, had sailed to Pinarius Scarpus in Africa and to the army under Scarpus' command previously assembled there for the protection of Egypt. But when this general not only refused to receive him but furthermore slew the men sent ahead by Antony, besides executing some of the soldiers under his command who showed displeasure at this act, then Antony, too, proceeded to Alexandria without having accomplished anything.

Now among the other preparations they made for speedy warfare, they enrolled among the youths of military age, Cleopatra her son Caesarion and Antony his son Antyllus, who had been born to him by Fulvia and was then with him. Their purpose was

1.7

γραψαν, εν οι τε Αιγύπτιοι ώς και άνδρος τινος ήδη βασιλεύοντός σφων προθυμηθώσι, καὶ οί άλλοι προστάτας έκείνους, αν γέ τι δεινόν σφισι 2 συμβή, έχουτες καρτερήσωσι. καὶ τοίς μέν μειρακίοις και τούτο αίτιον του ολέθρου έγένετο. ουδετέρου γαρ αυτών ο Καίσαρ, ώς και ανδρών όντων και πρόσχημά τι προστασίας έχοντων, έφείσατο έκείνοι δ' ούν παρεσκευάζοντο μέν ώς και έν τη Λίγυπτω και ναυσί και πεζώ πολεμή-3 σουτες, και έπι τούτω και τὰ έθνη τὰ όμοχωρα τούς τε βασιλέας τούς φιλίους σφίσι προσπαρεκάλουν, ήτοιμάζουτο δ' ούδεν ήττον ώς και ές την Ίβηρίαν, αν τι κατεπείξη, πλευσούμενοι και τά έκει άλλως τε και τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων άποστήσοντες, ή και πρός την έρυθραν θάλασσαν ι μεταστησόμενοι. και όπως γε έπι πλείστον Βουλευόμενοι ταυτα διαλάθωσιν, ή καὶ έξαπατήσωσί τη του Καίσαρα ή και δολοφονήσωσιν, έστειλάν τινας έκείνω μέν λόγους υπέρ εἰρήνης τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνοῦσιν αὐτῷ χρήματα φέροντας. 5 κὰν τούτῷ καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σκῆπτρόν τὲ τι χρυσούν και στέφανον χρυσούν τόν τε δίφρον τον Βασιλικόν, κρύφα του Αντωνίου, ώς καὶ την άρχήν οί δι' αὐτῶν διδούσα ἔπεμψεν, ἴν' αν καὶ 6 έκείνου έχθήρη, άλλ' αὐτήν γε έλεήση. ὁ δὲ τὰ μέν δώρα έλαβεν οίωνου ποιούμενος, απεκρίνατο δὲ τῷ μὲν 'Αντωνίω οὐδέν, τῆ δὲ Κλεοπάτρα φανερώς μεν άλλα τε άπειλητικά καὶ ότι, άν τών τε όπλων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀποστή, Βουλεύσεται

¹ TI M, om. V.

BOOK LI

to arouse the enthusiasm of the Egyptians, who a.c. an would feel that they had at last a man for their king, and to cause the rest to continue the struggle with these boys as their leaders, in case anything untoward should happen to the parents. Now as for the lads, this proved one of the causes of their undoing; for Caesar spared neither of them, claiming that they were men and were clothed with a sort of leadership. But to return to Antony and Cleopatra, they were indeed making their preparations with a view to waging war in Egypt both on sea and on land, and to this end they were calling to their aid the neighbouring tribes and the kings who were friendly to them; but they were also making ready, none the less, to sail to Spain if need should arise, and to stir up a revolt there by their vast resources of money and by other means, or even to change the base of their operations to the Red Sea. And in order that while engaged in these plans they might escape observation for the longest possible time or even deceive Caesar in some way or actually slav him by treachery, they despatched emissaries who carried peace proposals to him and bribes of money to his followers. Meanwhile Cleopatra, on her part, unknown to Antony, sent to him a golden sceptre and a golden crown together with the royal throne, signifying that through them she offered him the kingdom as well; for she hoped that even if he did hate Antony, he would yet take pity on her at least. Caesar accepted her gifts as a good omen, but made no answer to Antony; to Cleopatra, however, although he publicly sent threatening messages, including the announcement that, if she would give up her armed forces and renounce her sovereignty,

περί αὐτῆς ὅσα χρὴ πρᾶξαι, λάθρα δὲ ὅτι, ἐὰν τὸν Αντώνιον ἀποκτείνη, καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν αὐτῆ καὶ

την άρχην άκεραιον δώσει. Εν ώ δε ταύτα εγίγνετο, τάς τε ναύς τὰς έν τώ Αραβικώ κόλπω πρός του ές 1 τηυ έρυθραν θάλασσαν πλούν ναυπηγηθείσας οί 'Αράβιοι, πεισθέντες ύπο Κυίντου Διδίου του της Συρίας άρχουτος, κατέπρησαν, και τὰς ἐπικουρίας και οί 2 δήμοι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται πάντες άπηρνήσαντο. καί μοι θαυμάσαι ἐπέργεται ότι άλλοι μέν συγνοί, καίπερ πολλά παρ' αυτών είληφότες, έγκατέλιπον σφας, οί δε επί ταίς οπλομαχίαις εν τοίς άτιμότατα τρεφόμενοι προθυμία τε ές αύτους πλείστη α έγρήσαντο καὶ ἀνδρειότατα ἡγωνίσαντο. οὐτοι γάρ ἐν Κυζίκω πρὸς τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἀγώνας, οὺς έπι τω Καίσαρι άξειν ήλπιζου, ασκούμενοι, τύτε έπειδή τάχιστα των γεγονότων ήσθοντο, ώρμησαν 4 ές την Αίγυπτον ώς και βοηθήσοντες αὐτοίς, και

ι ές την Λίγυπτον ως και βοηθήσοντες αυτοις, και πολλά μὲν τὸν 'Αμύνταν ἐν τῆ Γαλατία πολλά δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ταρκονδιμότου παίδας ἐν τῆ Κιλικία, φίλους μέν σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενομένους, τότε δὲ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα μεταστάντας, πολλά δὲ καὶ τὸν Δίδιον κωλύωντά σφας τῆς διόδου ἔδρασαν.

5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ διαπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Αίγυπτον ἡδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πανταχόθεν περιεστοιχίσθησαν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ' ὡς οὐδένα, καίτοι τοῦ Διδίου συχνά σφισιν ὑπισχνουμένου, προσεδέhe would consider what ought to be done in her as as case, he secretly sent word that, if she would kill Antony, he would grant her pardon and leave her realm inviolate.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the Arabians, instigated by Quintus Didius, the governor of Syria, burned the ships in the Arabian Gulf which had been built for the voyage to the Red Sea,1 and the peoples and princes without exception refused their assistance to Antony. Indeed, I cannot but marvel that, while a great many others, though they had received numerous gifts from Antony and Cleopatra, now left them in the lurch, yet the men who were being kept for gladiatorial combats, who were among the most despised, showed the utmost zeal in their behalf and fought most bravely. These men, I should explain, were training in Cyzicus for the triumphal games which they were expecting to hold in celebration of Caesar's overthrow, and as soon as they became aware of what had taken place, they set out for Egypt to bear aid to their rulers. Many were their exploits against Amyntas in Galatia and many against the sons of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia, who had been their strongest friends but now in view of the changed circumstances had gone over to the other side; many also were their exploits against Didius, who undertook to prevent their passing through Syria; nevertheless, they were unable to force their way through to Egypt. Yet even when they were surrounded on all sides, not even then would they accept any terms of surrender, though Didius made

¹ The "Red Sea" of the ancients is the Persian Gulf of to-day, their "Arabian Gulf" the modern Red Sea.

ξαντο, τον δε 'Αντώνιον μεταπέμψαντες ως και έν τῆ Συρία ἄμεινον μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσοντες, 6 ἐπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος μήτ' αὐτὸς ἢλθε μήτ' ἀγγελίαν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, οὕτω δὴ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἄκοντες ώμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ μηδέποτε μονομαχῆσαι, καὶ τήν γε Δάφνην παρὰ τοῦ Διδίου, τὸ τῶν 'Αντιοχέων προάστειον, ἐνοικεῖν μέχρις ἄν τῷ Καίσαρι ταῦτα δηλωθῆ ἔλαβον.

7 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλου ὕστερον ἀπατηθέντες ἐπέμφθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλοσε ὡς καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα καταλεχθησόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ τρόπου δή

8 τινος ἐπιτηδείου ἰφθάρησαν `Αντώνιος δὲ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἀκούσαντες τῶν πρέσβεων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρὸς σφισιν ἐπισταλέντα, ἔπεμψαν αὐθις, ἡ μὲν χρήματα αὐτῷ πολλὰ δώσειν ὑπισχνουμένη, ὁ δὲ τῆς τε φιλίας καὶ τῆς συγγενείας αὐτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ περὶ τῆς συνουσίας τῆς πρὸς τῆν Αὐγυπτίαν ἀπολογούμενος, ὅσα τε συνηράσθησάν ποτε καὶ ὅσα

2 συνενεανιεύσαντο άλλήλοις εξαριθμούμενος. καὶ τέλος Πούπλιον Τουρούλλιον βουλευτήν τε όντα καὶ σφαγέα τοῦ Καίσαρος γεγονότα τότε τε φιλικώς οἱ συνόντα εξέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐαυτόν, ἄν γε καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ Κλεοπάτρα σωθῷ, κατα-

3 χρήσεσθαι ἐπηγγείλατο. Καΐσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλλιον ἀπέκτεινε (καὶ ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικόν κεκοφώς, δίκην τινὰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιωθη, δοῦναι ἔδοξε), τῷ δ΄ ᾿Αντωνίφ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ τότε 4 ἀπεκρίνατο. τρίτην τε οὐν πρεσβείαν ἔστειλε,

them many promises. Instead, they sent for Antony, 10.0. 20 feeling that they would fight better even in Syria if he were with them; and then, when he neither came himself nor sent them any message, they at last decided that he had perished and reluctantly made terms, on condition that they were never to fight as gladiators. And they received from Didius Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, to dwell in until the matter should be brought to Caesar's attention.

These men were later deceived by Messalla and sent to various places under the pretext that they were to be enlisted in the legions, and were then put out of the way in some convenient manner, Antony and Cleopatra, for their part, upon hearing from the envoys the demands which Caesar made of them, sent to him again. Cleopatra promised to give him large amounts of money, and Antony reminded him of their friendship and kinship, made a defence also of his connexion with the Egyptian woman, and recounted all the amorous adventures and youthful pranks which they had shared together. Finally, he surrendered to him Publius Turullius, who was a senator and one of the assassins of Caesar and was then living with Antony as a friend; and he offered to take his own life, if in that way Cleopatra might be saved. Caesar put Turullius to death (it chanced that this man had cut wood for the fleet from the grove of Aesculapius in Cos, and since he was executed in Cos, he was thought to be making amends to the god as well as to Caesar), but this time also he gave no answer to Antony. So Antony despatched a

κοί του υίου του "Αυτυλλου μετά χρυσίου πολλού αὐτῷ ἐπεμψεν ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἐκείνου δὲ διὰ κενῆς ἀνταπεστείλε, μηδεμίαν άπώκρισιν δούς. τη μέντοι Κλεοπάτρα πολλά, ώσπερ το πρώτον, ούτω και το δεύτερον το τε 5 τρίτου και έπηπείλησε και ύπέσχετο. φοβηθείς δ΄ οδυ καὶ δις μή πως απογυόντες συγγνώμης παρ αύτου τεύξεσθαι διακαρτερήσωσι, και ήτοι καλ καθ' έαυτους περυγένωνται, ή και ές την Ίβηρίαν τήν τε Γαλατίαν απάρωσιν, ή και τα χρήματα, 6 α παμπληθή ήκουεν είναι, φθείρωσιν (ή γάρ Κλεοπάτρα πάντα τε αύτά ές το μνημείον, δ έν τω βασιλείω κατεσκεύαζεν, ήθροίκει, και πάντα, αν γέ τινος και έλαχίστου διαμάρτη, κατακαύσειν μεθ' έαυτης ήπείλει), Θύρσον έξελεύθερον έαυτου έπεμψεν άλλα τε πολλά και φιλάνθρωπα αύτη 7 έρουντα, καὶ ότι καὶ έρων αυτής τυγχάνει, εἴ πως έκ γε τούτου, ολα άξιούσα πρός πάντων άνθρωπων έρασθαι, του τε 'Αυτώνιον άναχρήσαιτο καί έαυτήν τά τε χρήματα ακέραια τηρήσειε. καὶ έσχεν ούτως. Πρίν δὲ δὴ¹ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι, μαθὰν ό 'Αυτώνιος ότι Κορνήλιος Γάλλος το τε του

Αυτωνίος ότι Κορνηλίος Γάλλος το τε του Σκάρπου στράτευμα παρείληφε και μετ' αὐτῶν τὸ Παραιτόνιον ἐξαίφνης παρελθῶν κατέσχηκεν, ἐς μὲν την Συρίαν, καίτοι βουληθείς κατὰ την τῶν μονομάχων μετάπεμψιν ὁρμῆσαι, οὐκ ἐπο-2 ρεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνον ἐχώρησεν ὡς μάλιστα μἐν ἀκονιτὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας προσθησόμενος (ἡσαν γὰρ εὕνοιάν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς συστρατείας ἔχοντες), εἰ δὲ μή, βία γε χειρωσόμενος ἄτε καὶ third embassy, sending him his son Antyllus with access much gold. Caesar accepted the money, but sent the boy back empty-handed, giving him no answer, To Cleopatra, however, as in the first instance, so again on the second and third occasions, he sent many threats and promises alike. Yet he was afraid, even so, that they might perhaps despair of obtaining pardon from him and so hold out, and either prove superior by their own efforts, or set sail for Spain and Gaul, or else might destroy their wealth, which he kept hearing was of vast extent; for Cleopatra had collected it all in her tomb which she was constructing in the royal grounds, and she threatened to burn it all up with her in ease she should fail of even the slightest of her demands. So he sent Thyrsus, a freedman of his, to say many kind things to her and in particular to tell her that he was in love with her. He hoped that by this means at least, since she thought it her due to be loved by all mankind, she would make away with Antony and keep herself and her money unharmed. And so it proved.

But before this happened, Antony learned that Cornelius Gallus had taken over Scarpus' army and had suddenly marched with these troops upon Paraetonium and occupied it. Hence, although he wished to set out for Syria in response to the summons of the gladiators, he did not go thither, but proceeded against Gallus, in the hope of winning over the troops without a struggle, if possible, inasmuch as they had been with him on campaigns and were fairly well disposed toward him, but otherwise of subduing them by force, since he was leading

δύναμιν πολλήν και ναυτικήν και πεζήν έπαγό-3 μενος, οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ 1 διαλεχθήναί τι αὐτοίς ήδυνήθη, καίπερ πρός τε το τείχος προσελθών καὶ γεγωνου βοήσας ο γάρ Γάλλος τους σαλπικτάς συνηγείν κελεύσας ούδεν ούδεν έσακουσαι έπέτρεψε, και προσέτι και έπεκδρομή αιφικδίω έπταισε, καὶ μετά τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς ναυσίν ἐσφάλη. 4 άλύσεις γάρ τανας ύφύδρους νύκτωρ διά του στόματος του λιμένος ο Γάλλος διατείνας ουδεμίαν αὐτοῦ φανεράν φυλακήν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλά καὶ πάνυ άδεως είσω μετά καταφρονήματος έσπλέοντάς σφας περιείδεν έπει μέντοι ένδον έγένοντο, τάς τε άλύσεις μηχαναίς άνέσπασε, καί πανταγόθεν άμα τὰς ναθς αθτών ἔκ τε τῆς γῆς και έκ των οικιών της τε θαλάσσης περισχών 5 τας μεν κατέπρησε τας δε κατεπόντωσε, καν τούτω και το Πηλούσιον ο Καίσαρ, λόγω μέν κατά το ίσχυρον έργω δε προδοθέν υπό της Κλεοπάτρας, έλαβεν. ἐκείνη γάρ ώς ούτε τις έβοήθησε σφισι και τον Καίσαρα άνανταγώνιστον όντα ήσθετο, τό τε μέγιστον άκούσασα τούς διά του Θύρσου πεμφθέντας οι λόγους, επίστευσεν όντως έρασθαι, πρώτον μέν ότι καὶ έβούλετο. έπειτα δὲ ὅτι καὶ τον πατέρα αὐτοῦ τόν τε η Αντώνιον όμοίως ἐδεδούλωτο. κὰκ τούτου οὐχ όπως τήν τε άδειαν καὶ τὴν τών Αίγυπτίων Βασιλείαν, άλλά και το των Ρωμαίων κράτος έξειν προσεδόκησε, τό τε Πηλούσιον εύθυς αυτώ προήκατο, και μετά τούτο προσελαύνοντι προς την πόλιν εκώλυσε τους Αλεξανδρέας λάθρα επεξελ-

¹ οὐδί Βκ., οὕτε VM. 2 σαλνιατάς Μ, σαλνιγατάς V.

against them a large force both of ships and of access infantry. Nevertheless, he was unable even to talk with them, although he approached their ramparts and raised a mighty shout; for Gallus ordered his trumpeters to sound their instruments all together and gave no one a chance to hear a word. Moreover, Antony also failed in a sudden assault and later suffered a reverse with his ships as well. Gallus, it seems, caused chains to be stretched at night across the mouth of the harbour under water, and then took no measures openly to guard against his opponents but contemptuously allowed them to sail in with perfect immunity. When they were inside, however, he drew up the chains by means of machines, and encompassing their ships on all sides-from the land, from the houses, and from the sea-he burned some and sank others. In the meantime Caesar took Pelusium, ostensibly by storm, but really because it was betrayed by Cleopatra. For she saw that no one came to their aid and perceived that Caesar was not to be withstood; and, most important of all, she listened to the message sent her through Thyrsus, and believed that she was really beloved, in the first place, because she wished to be, and, in the second place, because she had in the same manner enslaved Caesar's father and Antony. Consequently she expected to gain not only forgiveness and the sovereignty over the Egyptians, but the empire of the Romans as well. So she yielded Pelusium to him at once; and later, when he marched against the city, she prevented the Alexandrians from making a sortie. She accomplished this secretly, of course,

θείν, έπει όσον γε από βοής και πάνυ σφας

προετρέψατο τούτο ποιήσαι. 'Ο δ' ουν 'Αντώνιος έκ του Παραιτυνίου πρός 10 την περί του Πελουσίου πύστιν έπανελθών προαπήντησε πρό της 'Αλεξανδρείας τω Κοίσαρι, καὶ αὐτον κεκμηκότα έκ της πορείας υπολαβών τοῖς 2 ίππεθσιν ένίκησεν, άναθαρσήσας τε έκ τε τούτου καὶ ὅτι βιβλία ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ τοξεύμασιν έσέπεμψε πεντακοσίας σφίσι και χιλίας δραχμάς ύπισχνούμενος, συνέβαλε και τω πεζώ 3 και ήττήθη ο γάο Καίσαρ αὐτὸς τὰ βιβλία έθελοντής τοις στρατιώταις άνέγνω, τόν τε 'Αντώνιον διαβάλλων και έκείνους ές τε την της προδοσίας αισχύνην και ές την ύπερ εαυτού προθυμίαν άντικαθιστάς, ώστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτούς τῆ τε της πείρας άγανακτήσει και τη του μη έθελο. 4 κακείν δύξαι ένδείξει σπουδάσαι. και ο μέν έπειδη παρά δόξαν ηλαττώθη, πρός τε το ναυτικόν απέκλενε, και παρεσκευάζετο ώς και ναυμαχήσων ή πάντως γε ές την Ιβηρίαν πλευσούμενος ιδούσα δε τουθ' ή Κλεοπάτρα τάς τε ναύς αυτομολήσαι 5 εποίησε, και αυτή ες το ήριου εξαίφνης εσεπήδησε. λόγω μέν ώς τον Καίσαρα φοβουμένη και προδιαφθείραι τρόπου τινά έαυτην βουλομένη, έργω δε και του Αντώνιον έκεισε έσελθειν προκαλουμένη υπετύπει μέν γάρ προδίδοσθαι, ου μέντοι και επίστευεν ύπο τοῦ έρωτος, άλλα και μαλλον 6 ώς είπειν έκείνην ή έαυτου! ήλέει. όπερ που ή Κλεοπάτρα ακριβώς είδυια ήλπισεν " ότι, αν πύθηται αυτήν τετελευτηκυίαν, ουκ επιβιώσεται άλλα παραχρήμα αποθανείται. και δια τούτο ές

since, to judge by the outery she made, she exhorted an a

them vigorously to do so.

At the news concerning Pelusium Antony returned from Paraetonium and went to meet Caesar in front of Alexandria, and attacking him with his cavalry, while the other was wearied from his march, he won the day. Encouraged by this success, and because he had shot arrows into Caesar's camp carrying leaflets which promised the men six thousand sesterces, he joined battle also with his infantry and was defeated. For Caesar of his own accord personally read the leaflets to his soldiers, at the same time reviling Antony and trying to turn them to a feeling of shame for the suggested treachery and of enthusiasm for himself; the result was that they were fired by zeal through this very incident, both by reason of their indignation at the attempt made upon their loyalty and by way of demonstrating that they were not subject to the suspicion of being base traitors. After his unexpected setback, Antony took refuge in his fleet, and was preparing to give battle on the sea or at any rate to sail to Spain. But Cleopatra, upon perceiving this, caused the ships to desert, and she herself rushed suddenly into the mausoleum. pretending that she feared Caesar and desired by some means or other to forestall him by taking her own life, but really as an invitation to Antony to enter there also. He had a suspicion, to be sure, that he was being betrayed, yet in his infatuation he could not believe it, but actually pitied her more, one might say, than himself. Cleopatra, doubtless, was fully aware of this and hoped that if he should be informed that she was dead, he would not wish to survive her, but would die at once. Accordingly

τε το μυημείου σύν τε ευνούχω τινί και σύν θεραπαίναις δύο εσέδραμε, και έκειθεν άγγελίαν αυτώ 7 ώς και άπολωλυία έπεμψε, και δς άκούσας τούτο ούκ εμέλλησεν, άλλ' έπαποθανείν αυτή έπεθύμησε. και το μέν πρώτον τών παρόντων τινός έδεήθη ίνα αύτου άποκτείνη έπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνος σπασάμενος τὸ Είφος εαυτου κατειργώσατο, ζηλώσαι τε αύτου ηθέλησε και έσυτου έτρωσευ, και έπεσέ τε έπι στόμα και δόξαν τοις παρούσιν ώς και τεθνηκώς 8 παρέσχε. θορύβου τε έπὶ τούτο γενομένου ήσθετό. τε ή Κλεοπάτρα και υπερέκυψεν ύπερ του μνημείου αί μεν γαρ θύρας αὐτοῦ συγκλεισθείσας άπαξ ούκετ άνοιχθήναι έκ μηχανήματός τινος έδωναντο, τὰ δ' ἄνω πρὸς τῆ ὁροφῆ οὐδέπω πανο τελώς έξείργαστο. εντεύθεν οθν ύπερκύψασαν αὐτην ίδόντες τινές άνεβόησαν ώστε καὶ τον 'Αντώνιον έσακούσαι και δς μαθών ότι περίεστιν, έξανέστη μεν ώς και ζήσαι δυνάμενος, προχυθέν-τος δ' αυτώ πολλοῦ αιματος ἀπέγνω τε την σωτηρίαν, και ίκέτευσε τους παρόντας όπως πρός τε το μυήμα αὐτον κομίσωσι και διά των σχοινίων τών πρός την ανολεήν των λίθων κρεμαμένων ανιμήσωσι.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κλεο11 πάτρας κόλποις ἐναπέθανεν, ἐκείνη ὁὲ ἐθάρσησε μέν πως τον Καίσαρα, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῷ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐδηλωσεν, οἱ μὴν καὶ πάνυ ἐπίστενε μηδὲν κακὸν πείσεσθαι. κατεῖχεν οῦν ἐαυτὴν ἔνδον, ἴν εἰ καὶ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο σωθείη, τῶ γε ψόβω τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκπρίηται.

2 ούτω που καὶ τότε ἐν τηλικαύτη συμφορά οὐσα τῆς δυναστείας ἐμέμνητο, καὶ μάλλόν γε ἔν τε τῷ she hastened into the tomb with a canach and two ... 20 maidservants, and from there sent a message to him from which he should infer that she was dead. And he, when he heard it, did not delay, but was seized by a desire to follow her in death. He first asked one of the bystanders to slay him; but when the man drew his sword and slew himself. Antony wished to imitate his courage and so gave himself a wound and fell upon his face, causing the bystanders to believe that he was dead. At this an outery was raised, and Cleopatra, hearing it, peered out over the top of the tomb. By a certain contrivance its doors, once closed, could not be opened again, but the upper part of it next to the roof was not yet fully completed. Now when some of them saw her peering out at this point, they raised a shout so that even Antony heard. So he, learning that she survived, stood up, as if he had still the power to live; but, as he had lost much blood, he despaired of his life and besought the bystanders to carry him to the monument and to hoist him up by the ropes that were hanging there to lift the stone blocks.

So Antony died there in Cleopatra's bosom; and she now felt a certain confidence in Caesar, and immediately informed him of what had taken place; still, she was not altogether convinced that she would suffer no harm. She accordingly kept herself within the building, in order that, even if there should be no other motive for her preservation, she might at least purchase pardon and her kingdom through his fear for the money. So thoroughly mindful was she even then, in the midst of her dire misfortune, of her royal rank, and chose rather to

ονόματι καὶ έν τῷ σχήματι αὐτῆς ἀποθανεῖν ἡ ἰδιωτεύσασα ζῆν ἦρεῖτο. ἀμέλει εἰχε μὲν καὶ τὸ πύρ έπὶ τοίς χρήμασιν, είχε δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας άλλα τε έρπετα έφ' έαυτή, προπειραθείσα αυτών έν ανθρώποις, δετινα τρόπον έκαστόν σφων αποκτίν-3 νυσι. Καίσαρ δὲ ἐπεθύμει μὲν καὶ τῶν θησαυρών έγκρατής γενέσθαι και έκείνην ζώσαν τε συλλαβείν και ές τα νικητήρια αναγαγείν, ου μέντοι και αύτος πίστιν τινά αύτη δούς άπατεών δύξαι γεγονέναι ήθέλησεν, ίν ώς και αίγμαλώτω και άκουσία 4 τρόπον τινά χειρωθείση χρήσηται. και διά τούτ έπεμψε προς αυτήν Γάιον τε Προκουλέιον 1 ίππέα και Επαφρόδιτον έξελεύθερον, έντειλημενός σφισιν όσα καὶ είπειν καὶ πράξαι έχρην. καὶ ούτως έκείναι συμμίξαντες τη Κλεοπάτρα και μέτριά τινα διαλεχθέντες, έπειτ έξαίψνης συνήρπασαν 5 αύτην πρίν τι ομολογηθήναι. κάκ τούτου έκποδών πάντα άφ' ών αποθανείν έδύνατο ποιησάμενοι, ημέρας μέν τινας κατά χώραν αὐτή τὸ τοῦ 'Αν-τωνίου σώμα ταριχευούση διατριψαι ἐπέτρεψαν. έπειτα δέ ές τὰ βασίλεια αὐτην ήγαγον, μήτε της άκολουθίας τι μήτε της θεραπείας της συνήθους οί παραλύσαντες, όπως έτι και μάλλον έλπίση τε δσα εβούλετο και μηδέν κακον έαυτην δράση. ε άμελει και όφβηναι και διαλεχθήναι τι τώ Καίσαρι έθελήσασα έπέτυχε καί ίνα γε έπι πλείον άπατηθή, αὐτὸς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπέσχετο.

12 Οἰκόν τε οὐν ἐκπρεπῆ καὶ κλίνην πολυτελῆ παρασκενάσασα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐαυτὴν ἡμελημένως πως κοσμήσασα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πενθίμω

¹ Sperson icar Ba, whosperior VM.

BOOK LI

die with the name and dignity of a sovereign than access to live in a private station. At all events, she kept at hand fire to consume her wealth, and asps and other reptiles to destroy herself, and she had the latter tried on human beings, to see in what way they killed in each case. Now Caesar was anxious not only to get possession of her treasures but also to seize her alive and to earry her back for his triumph, yet he was unwilling to appear to have tricked her himself after having given her a kind of pledge, since he wished to treat her as a captive and to a certain extent subdued against her will. He therefore sent to her Gains Proculeius, a knight, and Epaphroditus, a freedman, giving them directions as to what they were to say and do. Following out this plan, they obtained an audience with Cleopatra, and after discussing with her some moderate proposals they suddenly seized her before any agreement was reached. After this they put out of her way everything by means of which she could cause her own death and allowed her to spend some days where she was, occupied in embalming Antony's body; then they took her to the palace, but did not remove any of her accustomed retinue or attendants, in order that she should entertain more hope than ever of accomplishing all she desired, and so should do no harm to herself. At any rate, when she expressed a desire to appear before Caesar and to have an interview with him, she gained her request; and to deceive her still more, he promised that he would come to her himself.

She accordingly prepared a splendid apartment and a costly couch, and moreover arrayed herself with affected negligence,—indeed, her mourning

33

σχήματι δεινώς ένέπρεπεν) έκαθέζετο έπὶ τῆς κλίνης, πολλὰς μεν εἰκόνας τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδαπὰς παραθεμένη, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς παρ ἐκείνου οἱ πεμφθείσας ἐς τὸν κόλπον λαβοῦσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καί-

2 λαβούσα. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσελθόντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀνεπήδησέ τε ἐρρυθμισμένη, καὶ ἔφη "χαῖρε ὁ δέσποτα· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀφείλετο. ἀλλ΄ ὁρᾶς μέν που καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν πατέρα σου τοιοῦτον οἰος πολλάκις πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐσῆλθεν, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅπως τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησέ με καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλίδα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων 3 ἐποίησεν. ἵνα δ΄ οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περὶ

3 ἐποίησεν. ΐνα δ΄ οὖν τι καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου περί ἐμοῦ πύθη, λάβε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι τὰ γράμματα ἄ

μοι αυτοχειρία επέστειλε."

Ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἔλεγε, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἐρωτικὰ αὐτοῦ ῥήματα ἀνεγίγνωσκε. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἔκλαε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς κατεφίλει, τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ προσέπιπτε καὶ ἐκείνας προσεκύνει.

* τά τε βλέφαρα ές τον Καίσαρα έπενέκλα, καὶ ἐμμελῶς ἀνωλοφύρετο, θρυπτικόν τέ τι προσεφθέγγετο, ἄλλοτε μὲν λέγουσα "ποῦ μοι, Καῖσαρ, ταῦτά σου τὰ γράμματα;" ἄλλοτε δὲ ὅτι "ἀλλ' ἐν τούτφ καὶ σύ μοι ζῆς," εἶτα αὖθις "εἴθε σου προετεθνήκειν," καὶ μάλα αὖθις " άλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον ἔγουσα σὲ ἔχω."

Τοιαύτη τινί ποικιλία και των ρημάτων και των σχημάτων έχρητο, μελιχρά άττα και προσβλέπουσα αὐτώ και λαλούσα. ὁ οὐν Καίσαρ συνίει μέν αὐτῆς και παθαινομένης και πληκτιζομένης,

¹ δρροθμισμένη is the reading of VM; some editors have preferred δροθριασμένη, the reading found in Xiphilinus' Epitome.
² sal M, om. V.

garb wonderfully became her,—and seated herself not no upon the couch; beside her she placed many images of his father, of all kinds, and in her bosom she put all the letters that his father had sent her. When, after this, Caesar entered, she leaped gracefully 1 to her feet and cried; "Hail, master—for Heaven has granted you the mastery and taken it from me, 2 But surely you can see with your own eyes how your father looked when he visited me on many occasions, and you have heard people tell how he honoured me in various ways and made me queen of the Egyptians. That you may, however, learn something about me from him himself, take and read the letters which he wrote me with his own hand."

After she had spoken thus, she proceeded to read many passionate expressions of Caesar's. And now she would lament and kiss the letters, and again she would fall before his images and do them reverence. She kept turning her eyes toward Caesar and bewailing her fate in musical accents. She spoke in melting tones, saying at one time, "Of what avail to me, Caesar, are these thy letters?" and at another, "But in this man here thou also art alive for me": again, "Would that I had died before thee," and still again, "But if I have him, I have thee."

Such were the subtleties of speech and of attitude which she employed, and sweet were the glances she east at him and the words she murmured to him. Now Caesar was not insensible to the ardour of her speech and the appeal to his passions, but he pre-

³ Or "blushing," if the variant reading offered by Xiphilinus be accepted.

⁵ That is, the power she had exercised over Caesar, in consequence of which he had become her willing subject, was of no avail in the case of Augustus.

ού μέντοι καὶ προσεποιείτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἰπεν, "θάρσει, ὡ γύναι, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν οὐδὲν γὰρ κακὸν ὁ πείση." περιαλγήσασα οὐν ἐκείνη ὅτι μήτε προσείδεν αὐτὴν μήτε τι ἡ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἡ καὶ ἐρωτικόν τι ἐφθέγξατο, πρός τε τὰ γύνατα αὐτοῦ προσέπεσε καὶ ἀνακλαύσασα "ζῆν μέν" ἔφη, "Καῖσαρ, οὕτε ἐθέλω οὕτε δύναμαι ταύτην δέ σε τὴν χάριν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην αἰτῶ, ἴν' ἐπειδή με 'Αντωνίω μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ δαίμων παρέδωκε, μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθάνω, εἴθε μὲν γὰρ ἀπωλώλειν εὐθὺς τότε μετὰ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπεὶ δὲ μοι καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἐπέπρωτο, πέμψον με πρὸς 'Αντώνιον, μηδέ μοι τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ ταφῆς φθονήσης, ἴν' ὥσπερ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀποθνήσκω, οὕτω καὶ ἐν "Αιδου αὐτῷ συνοικήσω."

Καὶ ἡ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὡς καὶ ἐλεηθησομένη ἔλεγε, Καῖσαρ δὲ πρὸς μὲν ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἐαυτὴν διαχρήσηται, θαρσεῖν τε αὐτῆ αὐθις παρεκελεύσατο, καὶ οῦτε τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῆς ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐν ἐπιμελεία αὐτὴν ² ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐπιλαμπρύνη. τοῦτό τε οὖν ὑποτοπήσασα, καὶ μυρίων θανάτων χαλεπώτερον αὐτὸ νομίσασα εἰναι, ὅντως τε ἀποθανεῖν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅπως τροπον τινὰ ἀπόληται, ἐδεῖτο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ³ ἐμηχανᾶτο. ἐπεὶ δ΄ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, μεταγιγνώσκειν τε ἐπλάσατο ὡς καὶ ἐλπίδα πολλὴν μὲν καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λιουίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ ἐκουσία τε πλευσεῖσθαι ἔλεγε, καὶ κόσμους

τινὰς ἀποθέτους èς δώρα ἡτοιμάζετο, εἶ πως πίλοαχρόσηται Β. Steph., διαγρήσεται VM.

tended to be; and letting his eyes rest upon the as, as ground, he merely said: "Be of good cheer, woman, and keep a stout heart; for you shall suffer no harm." She was greatly distressed because he would neither look at her nor say anything about the kingdom nor even utter a word of love, and falling at his knees, she said with an outburst of sobbing: "I neither wish to live nor can I live, Caesar. But this favour I beg of you in memory of your father, that, since Heaven gave me to Antony after him, I may also die with Antony. Would that I had perished then, straightway after Caesar! But since it was decreed by fate that I should suffer this affliction also, send me to Antony; grudge me not burial with him, in order that, as it is because of him I die, so I may dwell with him even in Hades."

Such words she uttered, expecting to move him to pity, but Caesar made no answer to them; fearing, however, that she might destroy herself, he exhorted her again to be of good cheer, and not only did not remove any of her attendants but also took special care of her, that she might add brilliance to his triumph. This purpose she suspected, and regarding that fate as worse than a thousand deaths, she conceived a genuine desire to die, and not only addressed many entreaties to Caesar that she might perish in some manner or other, but also devised many plans herself. But when she could accomplish nothing. she feigned a change of heart, pretending to set great hopes in him and also in Livia. She said she would sail of her own free will, and she made ready some treasured articles of adornment to use as gifts,

That is, that she had not been able to die with Caesar,

στιν έκ τούτων μη τεθνήξειν 1 λαβούσα ήττον τε πρηθείη καὶ ἐαυτὴν ἐξεργάσαιτο. ὁ καὶ ἐγένετο. έπειδή γαρ οί τε άλλοι και ο Επαφρόδιτος, ώπερ* έπετέτραπτο, πιστεύσαντες ταθθ' ώς άληθώς φρονείν, της άκριβούς φυλακής ημέλησαν, παρεσκευάζετο όπως ώς άλυπότατα άποθάνη, και γραμματείου τι, δι' ου έδεήθη του Καίσαρος ίνα αυτήν μετά του 'Αντωνίου ταφήναι κελεύση, αὐτῷ τῷ 5 Έπαφροδίτω σεσημασμένου, όπως προφάσει τής άποκομιδής αύτου ώς και άλλο τι έχοντος έκποδών οί γένηται, δούσα έργου είχετο. τήν τε γάρ έσθητα την περικαλλεστάτην ένδυσα, και έαυτην εύπρεπέστατα εύθετήσασα, τό τε σχήμα το βασιλικου παν αναλαβούσα, απέθανε.

Και το μέν σαφές ούδεις οίδεν ώ τρόπω διεφθάρη κεντήματα γάρ λεπτά περί του βραχίονα αύτης μόνα ευρέθη λέγουσι δε οί μεν ότι άσπίδα εν ύδρια 3 ή και εν άνθεσί τισιν εσκομισθείσην οί

2 προσέθετο, οἱ δὲ ὅτι βελόνην, ή τὰς τρίχας ἀνείσεν, ίδι τινι, δύναμιν τοιαύτην έχοντι ώστε άλλως μέν μηδέν το σώμα βλάπτειν, αν δ' αίματος καί Βραγυτάτου άψηται, και τάχιστα και άλυπότατα αύτο φθείρειν, χρίσασα τέως μέν αύτην έν τη κεφαλή εφορει ώσπερ είωθει, τότε δε προκατανύξασά τι του βραχίουα ές το αίμα ένέβαλευ.

3 ούτω μέν, ή ότι έγγύτατα, μετά των δύο θεραπαινών άπώλετο ο γαρ εὐνούχος άμα τῶ συλληφθήναι αυτήν τοις τε έρπετοις έαυτον έθελοντης

* To Oddley, Too! VM.

¹ rebrhen Dind., rebrhoen VM.

фтер М, ботер V.
 бдріц R. Steph., ббреіш VM.

in the hope that by these means she might inspire ac 30 belief that it was not her purpose to die, and so might be less closely guarded and thus be able to destroy herself. And so it came about. For as soon as the others and Epaphroditus, to whose charge she had been committed, had come to believe that she really felt as she pretended to, and neglected to keep a careful watch, she made her preparations to die as painlessly as possible. First she gave a sealed paper, in which she begged Caesar to order that she be buried beside Antony, to Epaphroditus himself to deliver, pretending that it contained some other matter, and then, having by this excuse freed herself of his presence, she set to her task. She put on her most beautiful apparel, arranged her body in most seemly fashion, took in her hands all the emblems of

royalty, and so died.

No one knows clearly in what way she perished, for the only marks on her body were slight pricks on the arm. Some say that she applied to herself an asp which had been brought in to her in a water-jar. or perhaps hidden in some flowers. Others declare that she had smeared a pin, with which she was wont to fasten her hair, with some poison possessed of such a property that in ordinary circumstances it would not injure the body at all, but if it came in contact with even a drop of blood would destroy the body very quickly and painlessly; and that previous to this time she had worn it in her hair as usual, but now had made a slight scratch on her arm and had dipped the pin in the blood. In this or in some very similar way she perished, and her two handmaidens with her. As for the cunuch, he had of his own accord delivered himself up to the scrpents at the very time

παρέδωκε, καὶ δηχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς σορὸν προπαρεσκευασμένην οἱ ἐσεπεπηδήκει. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς ἐξεπλάγη, καὶ τὸ τε σῶμα αὐτῆς εἶδε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ καὶ Ψύλ-

4 λους, εἴ πως ἀνασφήλειε, προσήνεγκεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ψύλλοι οὕτοι ἄνὅρες μέν εἰσι (γυνὴ γὰρ οῦ γἰγνεται Ψύλλα), δύνανται δὲ πάντα τε ἰδν παντὸς ἐρπετοῦ παραχρῆμα, πρὶν θνήσκειν τινά, ἐκμυζᾶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν δηχθέντες

5 βλάπτεσθαι. φύονται δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων, καὶ δοκιμάζουσι τὰ γεννηθέντα ήτοι μετ' ὅφεών που εὐθὺς ἐμβληθέντα, ἡ καὶ τῶν σπαργάνων αὐτῶν ἔπιβληθέντων τιαίν οὕτε γὰρ τῷ παιδίῷ τι λυμαίνονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος αὐτοῦ ναρκῶσι.

6 τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ μηδένα τρόπου ἀναβιώσασθαι τὴν Κλεοπάτραν δυνηθεὶς ἐκείνην μὲν καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἢλέησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἐλυπήθη ὡς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη

δόξης ἐστερημένος.

15 'Αντώνιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Κλεοπάτρα, πολλῶν μὲν τοῦς Αἰγυπτίοις πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τοῦς 'Ρωμαίοις κακῶν αἴτιοι γενόμενοι, οῦτω τε ἐπολέμησαν καὶ οῦτως ἐτελεύτησαν, ἔν τε τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἐταριχεύθησαν, κάν τῷ αὐτῷ θήκῃ ἐτάφησαν. ἔσχον δὲ τήν τε φύσιν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν τύχην τοῦ 2 βίου τοιάνδε. ὁ μὲν συνείναι τε τὸ δέον οὐδενὸς ῆσσων ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἀφρόνως ἔπραξεν, ἀνδρεία τε ἔν τισι διέπρεψε καὶ ὑπὸ δειλίας συχνὰ ἐσφάλη, τῷ τε μεγαλοψυχία καὶ τῷ δουλοπρεπεία.

of Cleopatra's arrest, and after being bitten by them a.c. 30 had leaped into a coffin already prepared for him. When Caesar heard of Cleopatra's death, he was astounded, and not only viewed her body but also made use of drugs and Psylli 1 in the hope that she might revive. These Psylli are males, for there is no woman born in their tribe, and they have the power to suck out any poison of any reptile, if use is made of them immediately, before the victim dies; and they are not harmed themselves when bitten by any such creature. They are propagated from one another and they test their offspring either by having them thrown among serpents as soon as they are born or else by having their swaddling-clothes thrown upon serpents; for the reptiles in the one case do no harm to the child, and in the other case are benumbed by its clothing. So much for this matter. But Caesar, when he could not in any way resuscitate Cleopatra, felt both admiration and pity for her, and was excessively grieved on his own account, as if he had been deprived of all the glory of his victory.

Thus Antony and Cleopatra, who had caused many evils to the Egyptians and many to the Romans, made war and met their death in the manner I have described; and they were both embalmed in the same fashion and buried in the same tomb. Their qualities of character and the fortunes of their lives were as follows. Antony had no superior in comprehending his duty, yet he committed many acts of folly. He sometimes distinguished himself for bravery, yet often failed through cowardice. He was characterized equally by greatness of soul

έξ ίσου έχρητο, καὶ τά τε άλλότρια ήρπαζε καὶ τα οίκεια προίετο, ηλέει τε αλόγως συχνούς και 3 εκόλαζεν άδικως πλείονας κάκ τούτων Ισχυρότατός τε έξ άσθενεστάτου και πλουσιώτατος έξ απορωτάτου γενόμενος ουδετέρου αυτών απώνητο. άλλα και το κράτος το των 'Ρωμαίων μόνος έξειν ι έλπίσας αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. Κλεοπάτρα δὲ απληστος μεν 'Αφροδίτης απληστος δε χρημάτων γενομένη, και πολλή μεν φιλοτιμία φιλοδόξω πολλή δε και περιφρονήσει θρασεία χρησαμένη, τήν τε βασιλείαν την των Λίγυπτίων ὑπ' έρωτος έκτήσατο, και την των 'Ρωμαίων ληψεσθαι δι' αυτού έλπίσασα ταύτης τε έσφάλη και εκείνην προσαπώλεσε, δύο τε άνδρων 'Ρωμαίων των καθ'

Ούτοι μεν δη τοιούτοί τε έγένοντο και ούτως απήλλαξαν των δε δή παίδων αυτών Αντυλλος μέν, καίτοι τήν τε του Καίσαρος θυγατέρα ήγγυημένος καὶ ές το τοῦ πατρός αὐτοῦ ήρῶον, ο ή Κλεοπάτρα έπεποιήκει, καταφυγών, εύθυς έσφάγη, Καισαρίων δέ ές Αλθιοπίαν φεύγων κατε-

έαυτήν μεγίστων κατεκράτησε, και διά του τρίτου

έαυτην κατεχρήσατο.

6 λήφθη τε έν τη όδω και διεφθάρη. ή τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰούβα τῷ τοῦ Ἰούβου παιδί συνώκησε. τούτω γαρ ο Καΐσαρ τραφέντι τε εν τη Ίταλία και συστρατευσαμένο οι ταύτην τε και την βασιλείαν την πατρώαν έδωκε, και αυτοίς και τον Αλέξανδρον και τον Πτολεμαίον έχαρίσατο. Τ ταίς τε άδελφιδαίς, ας έκ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου ή 'Οκτα-

ουία ανήρητό τε και έτετρόφει, χρήματα από

ardrero Naber, drararo VM col. Peir.

³ hyponueros Dind., eyyeyonueros M. eyyernueros V.

and by servility of mind. He would plunder the bear property of others and would squander his own. He showed compassion to many without cause and punished even more without justice. Consequently, though he rose from utter weakness to great power. and from the depths of poverty to great riches, he derived no profit from either circumstance, but after hoping to gain single-handed the empire of the Romans, he took his own life. Cleopatra was of insatiable passion and insatiable avarice; she was swayed often by laudable ambition, but often by overweening effrontery. By love she gained the title of Queen of the Egyptians, and when she hoped by the same means to win also that of Queen of the Romans, she failed of this and lost the other besides. She captivated the two greatest Romans of her day, and because of the third she destroyed herself.

Such were these two and such was their end. Of their children, Antyllus was slain immediately, though he was betrothed to the daughter of Caesar and had taken refuge in his father's shrine, which Cleopatra had built; and Caesarion while fleeing to Ethiopia was overtaken on the road and murdered. Cleopatra was married to Juba, the son of Juba; for to this man who had been brought up in Italy and had been with him on campaigns, Caesar gave both the maid and the kingdom of his fathers, and as a favour to them spared the lives of Alexander and Ptolemy. To his nieces, the daughters whom Octavia had had by Antony and had reared, he assigned money from their father's estate. He

των πατρώων ἀπένειμε. και τῷ Ἰούλλω τῷ τοῦ ἀΑντωνίου τῆς τε Φουλονίας νίει τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους αὐτοῦ πάνθ ὅσα τελευτώντάς σφας καταλιπείν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἔδει παραχρῆμα δοῦναι

16 ἐκέλευσε. τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου μέχρι τότε πραξάντων τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασε τοὺς δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ἡ δι' ἐαυτὸν ἡ διὰ τοὺς ψίλους. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων παιδες οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὁμηρεία οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐφ' ὕβρει τρεφόμενοι εὐρὲθησαν, τοὺς μὲν οἰκαδε αὐτῶν ἀπέστειλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλήλοις συνῷκισεν, ἐτέρους

2 τε κατέσχεν. ὧν ἐγὼ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐἀσω, δύο δὲ δὴ μόνων ὀνομαστὶ μνησθήσομαι τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἰωτάπην τῷ Μήδῷ καταφυγόντι μετὰ τὴν ήτταν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκὼν ἀπέδωκε, τῷ δ΄ Αρτάξῃ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καίπερ αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἔπεμψεν, ὅτι τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῆ ᾿Αρμενία Ὑωμαίους

йжекторы.

3 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐγίγνετο, τῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων τῶν τε 'Αλεξανδρέων πάντων ἐφείσατο ὥστε μὴ διολέσαι τινά, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ὅτι οὐκ ἡξίωσε τοσούτους τε αὐτοὺς ὅντας καὶ χρησιμωτάτους τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις ἐς πολλά ἀν γενομένους ἀνήκεστόν τι δράσαι πρόφασιν ἔὲ ὅμως

προυβάλλετο τόν τε θεον τον Σάραπιν εξε όμως προυβάλλετο τόν τε θεον τον Σάραπιν και τον Αλέξανδρου τον οικιστην αυτών, και τρίτον Αρειον τον πολίτην, ώ που φιλοσοφούντι τε και συνόντι οι έχρητο, και τον γε λόγον δι' ου συνέγνω σφίσιν, έλληνιστί, όπως συνώσιν αυτού,

δ εἶπε. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου σῶμα εἶδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήψατο, ὥστε τι τῆς ρινός, ὡς φασι, θραναθῆναι τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν also ordered Antony's freedmen to give at once n.c. an to Iulius, the son of Antony and Fulvia, everything which by law they would have been required to bequeath him at their death. As for the rest who had been connected with Antony's cause up to this time, he punished some and pardoned others, either from personal motives or to oblige his friends. And since there were found at the court many children of princes and kings who were being kept there, some as hostages and others out of a spirit of arrogance, he sent some back to their homes, joined others in marriage with one another, and retained still others. I shall omit most of these eases and mention only two. Of his own accord he restored Iotape to the Median king, who had found an asylum with him after his defeat; but he refused the request of Artaxes that his brothers be sent to him, because this prince had put to death the Romans left behind in Armenia.

This was the disposition he made of such captives; and in the case of the Egyptians and Alexandrians, he spared them all, so that none perished. The truth was that he did not see fit to inflict any irreparable injury upon a people so numerous, who might prove very useful to the Romans in many ways; nevertheless, he offered as a pretext for his kindness their god Serapis, their founder Alexander, and, in the third place, their fellow-citizen Areius, of whose learning and companionship he availed himself. The speech in which he proclaimed to them his pardon he delivered in Greek, so that they might understand him. After this he viewed the body of Alexander and actually touched it, whereupon, it is said, a piece of the nose was broken off. But he declined

Πτολεμαίων, καίτοι των Αλεξανδρέων σπουδή βουληθέντων αυτώ δείξαι, ούκ εθεάσατο, είπων ότι " βασιλέα άλλ' οὐ νεκρούς ίδεῖν ἐπεθύμησα." κάκ της αυτής ταύτης αίτιας ουδέ τω "Απιδι έντυχείν ήθέλησε, λέγων θεούς άλλ' ούχι βούς 17 προσκυνείν είθίσθαι. έκ δε τούτου τήν τε Αίγυπτον υποτελή εποίησε και τῷ Γάλλω τῷ Κορνηλίω έπέτρεψε πρός τε γάρ το πολύανδρου και τών πόλεων και της χώρας, και πρός το ράδιον το τε κουφον των τρόπων αυτών, τήν τε σιτοπομπίαν και τα χρήματα, ούδενι βουλευτή ούχ όπως έγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδέ ἐνεπιδημείν αὐτη έξουσίαν έδωκεν, αν μή τινι αὐτος 2 ονομαστί συγχωρήση. ου μέντοι ουδέ έκείνοις βουλεύειν εν τή 'Ρώμη εφήκεν. άλλά τοις μέν άλλοις ώς έκάστοις, τοις δ' Αλεξανδρεύσιν άνευ βουλευτών πολιτεύεσθαι έκέλευσε τοσαύτην που 3 νεωτεροποιίαν αὐτῶν κατέγνω, καί σφων οῦτω τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μέν άλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρώς

φυλάσσεται, βουλεύουσι δε δή και έν τη 'Αλεξανδρεία, έπὶ Σεουήρου αυτοκράτορος αρξάμενοι, καὶ έν τη 'Ρώμη, έπ' Αντωνίνου του νίεος αυτού πρώτου ές την γερουσίαν έσγραφέντες.

Λίγυπτος μέν ούτως έδουλώθη πάντες γάρ οι άντισχόντες αύτων χρόνον τινά έχειρώθησαν, ώς που και το δαιμόνιον σφισιν έναργέστατα προέδειξεν. ὖσέ τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως ὕδατι, ένθα μηδέ έψέκασε ποτε, άλλα και αίματι ταψτά τε άμα έκ των νεφων έξέπιπτε και δπλα παρεδ φαίνετο. κτυπήματά τέ τινα έτέρωθι και τυμπάνων και κυμβάλων και βοήματα και αυλών

to view the remains of the Ptolemics, though the no so Alexandrians were extremely eager to show them, remarking, "I wished to see a king, not corpses." For this same reason he would not enter the presence of Apis, either, declaring that he was accustomed to worship gods, not cattle. Afterwards he made Egypt tributary and gave it in charge of Cornelius Gallus. For in view of the populousness of both the cities and country, the facile, fickle character of the inhabitants, and the extent of the grain-supply and of the wealth, so far from daring to entrust the land to any senator, he would not even grant a senator permission to live in it, except as he personally made the concession to him by name. On the other hand he did not allow the Egyptians to be senators in Rome; but whereas he made various dispositions as regards the several cities, he commanded the Alexandrians to conduct their government without senators; with such capacity for revolution, I suppose, did he credit them. And of the system then imposed upon them most details are rigorously preserved at the present time, but they have their senators both in Alexandria, beginning first under the emperor Severus, and also in Rome, these having first been enrolled in the senate in the reign of Severus' son Antoninus.

Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as, indeed, Heaven very clearly indicated to them beforehand. For it rained not only water where no drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of

καί σαλπίγγων εγίγνετο, καί τις δράκων ύπερμεγέθης έξαίφνης σφίσιν όφθεις άμηγανον όσον έξεσύρισε, κάν τούτω και άστέρες κομήται έωρώντο, και νεκρών είδωλα έφαντάζετο, τα τε άγάλματα έσκυθρώπασε, και ό "Απις όλοφυρτικόν

τι έμυκήσατο και κατεδάκουσε.

Ταύτα μέν ούτως έγένετο, χρήματα δέ πολλά μέν έν τῷ βασιλικῶ εὐρέθη (πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγιωτάτων Ιερών ἀναθήματα ή Κλεοπάτρα άνελομένη συνεπλήθυσε τὰ λάφυρα τοις Ρωμαίοις άνευ τινός οίκείου αυτών μιάσματος 1), πολλά δε και παρ' εκάστου τών αιτιαθέντων 7 τι ήθροίσθη. και χωρίς οι λοιποί πάντες, όσοι μηδέν ίδιον έγκλημα λαβείν έδύναντο, τὰ δύο μέρη των ουσιών ήτηθησαν. και απ' αυτών πάντες μέν οί στρατιώται τὰ ἐποφειλόμενά σφισιν έκομίσαντο, οί δε δή και τότε τω Καίσαρι συγγενόμενοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραγμάς, ώστε 8 μη διαρπάσαι την πόλιν, προσεπέλαβον, τοίς τε προδανείσασί τι πάντα άπηλλάγη, καὶ τοῖς συμμετασχούσι του πολέμου και τών βουλευτών και τών ίππέων πάμπολλα έδόθη, τό τε σύμπαν ή τε άρχη ή των Ρωμαίων επλουτίσθη και τά ίερα αυτών έκοσμήθη.

'Ο δ' ούν Καίσαρ ώς τά τε προειρημένα έπραξε, 18 και πόλιν και έκει έν τω της μάχης χωρίω συνώκισε, και το δυομα και του άγωνα αυτή όμοίως τη προτέρα δούς, τάς τε διώρυγας τὰς μέν έξεκάθηρε τὰς δὲ ἐκ καινής διώρυξε, καὶ τάλλα τα προσήκουτα προσδιώκησεν, ές τε την 'Ασίαν

^{&#}x27; μιάσματος Μ. βιάσματος V. ' τι Μ. οικ. V. ' ήτήθησας R. Steph., ήττήθησας VM.

BOOK LI

flutes and trumpets, and a scrpent of huge size an suddenly appeared to them and attered an incredibly loud hiss. Meanwhile comets were seen and dead men's ghosts appeared, the statues frowned, and Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears.

So much for these events. In the palace quantities of treasure were found. For Cleopatra had taken practically all the offerings from even the holiest shrines and so helped the Romans swell their spoils without incurring any defilement on their own part. Large sums were also obtained from every man against whom any charge of misdemeanour was brought. And apart from these, all the rest, even though no particular complaint could be lodged against them, had two-thirds of their property demanded of them. Out of this wealth all the troops received what was owing them, and those who were with Caesar at the time got in addition a thousand sesterces on condition of not plundering the city. Repayment was made in full to those who had previously advanced loans, and to both the senators and the knights who had taken part in the war large sums were given. In fine, the Roman empire was enriched and its temples adorned.

After accomplishing the things just related Caesar founded a city there on the very site of the battle and gave to it the same name and the same games as to the city he had founded previously. He also cleared out some of the canals and dug others over again, besides attending to other important matters. Then he went through Syria into the province of

1 See chap, 1, 3.

το έθνος διὰ τῆς Συρίας ἡλθε, κὰνταύθα παρεχείμασε, τά τε τῶν ὑπηκόων ὡς ἔκαστα καὶ τὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἄμα καθιστάμενος. στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τινος Τιριδάτου ὶ τῷ Φραάτη ἐπαναστάντος, πρότερον μέν, καὶ ἔως ἔτι τὰ τοῦ ᾿Αντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθειστήκει, οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προσέθετό τῷ μὰτῶν συμμαχίαν αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἄλλο οὐδέν ἡ ὅτι βουλεύσεται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀσχολίαν ἔχων, ἔργω δὲ ἴν ἐκτρυχω-βεῖεν ἐν τούτω μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε ᾿Αντώνιος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐκείνων ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, τούτοις

τε φιλικώς έχρημάτισε, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτη βοηθήσειν μεν οὐχ ὑπέσχετο διαιτάσθαι δὲ ἐν τῆ Συρία ἐπέτρεψεν, υίον τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει παρ αὐτοῦ λαβών ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρεία ἐποιήσατο.

Υωμην άνηγαγε και έν ομηρεία έποιήσατο.

Έν δε τούτω και έτι πρότερον συχνά μεν και

έπὶ τῆ τῆς ναυμαχίας νίκη οἱ ἐν οἰκφ 'Ρωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο. τὰ τε γὰρ νικητήρια αὐτῷ, ὡς καὶ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ άψιξα τροπαιοφύρον ἔν τε τῷ Βρεντεσίω καὶ ἐτέραν ἐν τῆ 'Ρωμαία ἀγγορᾶ 2 ἔδωκαν τήν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ 'Ιουλιείου ἡρώου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτίδων νεῶν ἐμβόλοις κοσμηθήναι, καὶ πανήγυρίν οἱ πεντετηρίδα ἀγεσθαι, ἔν τε τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῆ τῆς ἀγγελίας τῆς νίκης ἡμέρα ἰερομηνίαν εἰναι, καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιόντι αὐτῷ τάς τε ἱερείας τὰς

¹ Τεριβάτου Dind., τειμιβάτου VM (and so just below).
² τφ M, om, V.
² εὐεργευίαι M, εὐεργεσία V,

Asia and passed the winter there settling the various ac. 20 affairs of the subject nations as well as those of the Parthians. It seems there had been dissension among the Parthians and a certain Tiridates had risen against Phraates; and hitherto, as long as Antony's opposition lasted, even after the naval battle, Caesar had not only not attached himself to either side, though they sought his alliance, but had not even answered them except to say that he would think the matter over. His excuse was that he was busy with Egypt, but in reality he wanted them in the meantime to exhaust themselves by fighting against each other. But now that Antony was dead and of the two combatants Tiridates, defeated, had taken refuge in Syria, and Phraates, victorious, had sent envoys, he entered into friendly negotiations with the latter; and, without promising to aid Tiridates, he permitted him to live in Syria. He received from Phraates one of his sons by way of conferring a favour upon him, and taking him to Rome, kept him as a hostage.

During this time and still earlier the Romans at home had passed many resolutions in honour of Caesar's naval victory. Thus they granted him a triumph, as over Cleopatra, an arch adorned with trophies at Brundisium and another in the Roman Forum. Moreover, they decreed that the foundation of the shrine of Julius should be adorned with the beaks of the captured ships and that a festival should be held every four years in honour of Octavius; that there should also be a thanksgiving on his birthday and on the anniversary of the announcement of his victory; also that when he should enter the city the

13500

άειπαρθένους και την βουλήν του τε δήμον μετά τε των συναικών και μετά των τέκνων άπαν-3 τήσαι έγνωσαν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς τάς τε εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν προεδρίαν καὶ τάλλα τὰ τοιουτότροπα περιττόν έστιν ήδη λέγειν. την μεν ούν πρώτην έκείνω τε 1 ταύτ' έψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου κοσμήματα τὰ μέν καθείλον τὰ δ ἀπήλειψαν, την τε ημέραν έν η έγεγέννητο μιαράν ένόμισαν, και τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου πρόσρημα ἀπείπον 4 μηδενί των συγγενών αὐτοῦ είναι. ὡς μέντοι καὶ τεθνεώτα αὐτὸν ἐπύθοντο (ἡγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο Κικέρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παιδός εν μέρει τοῦ έτους ὑπατεύοντος), τοῦτό τέ τινες ώς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ δὴ συμβάν έλάμβανου, έπειδήπερ ο πατήρ αύτου ύπο του 5 'Αντωνίου ότι μάλιστ' ετεθνήκει, και προσεψηφίσαντο τὸ Καίσαρι καὶ στεφάνους καὶ ίερομηνίας πολλάς, και αύτω και έτερα έπινίκια ώς και τών Αλγυπτίων αγαγείν έδοσαν τον γαρ Αντώνιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 'Ρωμαίους τοὺς σὺν έκείνω νικηθέντας ούτε πρότερον ούτε τότε, ώς καὶ έορτάζειν ε σφας έπ' αὐτοῖς δέου, ωνόμασαν. τήν τε ήμέραν έν ή ή 'Αλεξάνδρεια έάλω, άγαθήν τε είναι καί ές τὰ έπειτα έτη άρχην της ἀπαριθμήσεως αὐτών νομίζεσθαι, και τον Καίσαρα τήν τε έξουσίαν την των δημάρχων δια βίου έχειν, και τοις έπιβοωμένοις αύτον και έντος του πωμηρίου και έξω μέχρις δηδύου ήμισταδίου αμύνειν, δ μηδενί

Vestal Virgins and the senate and the people with 80.36 their wives and children should go out to meet But it would be quite superfluous to go on and mention the prayers, the images, the privilege of the front seat, and all the other honours of the sort. At the beginning, then, they not only voted him these honours but also either took down or effaced the memorials of Antony, declared the day on which he had been born accursed, and forbade the use of the surname Marcus by any of his kin. When, however, they learned of Antony's death, the news of which came while Cicero, the son of Cicero, was consul for a part of the year, some held that it had come to pass not without divine direction, since the consul's father had owed his death chiefly to Antony; and they voted to Caesar crowns and thanksgivings in great number and granted him the privilege of eelebrating another triumph, this time over the Egyptians. For neither on the previous occasion nor at this time did they mention by name Antony and the other Romans who had been vanquished with him and thus imply that it was proper to celebrate their defeat. The day on which Alexandria had been captured they declared a lucky day, and directed that in future years it should be taken by the inhabitants of that city as the starting-point in their reckoning of time. They also decreed that Caesar should bold the tribunician power for life, that he should aid those who called upon him for help both within the pomerium and outside for a distance of one mile,1-

Literally, "as far as the eighth half-stade," which means seven and a half stades, that is, one mile, according to Dio's usage. See note on xxxviii. 18.

7 των δημαρχούντων έξην, εκκλητόν τε δικάζειν, και ψηφόν τινα αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ώσπερ 'Αθηνὰς φέρεσθαι, τούς τε ἰερέας καὶ τὰς ἰερείας ἐν ταῖς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εὐχαῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμοίως εὐχεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις πάντας αὐτῷ σπένδειν ἐκέλευσαν.

20 Τότε μὲν δἡ ταῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, ὑπατεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μετὰ Σέξτου 'Απουλείου τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῆ τῆ τοῦ 'Ιανουαρίου νουμηνία ὅρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαντο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Πάρθων γράμματα ἡλθεν, ἔς τε τοὺς ὑμνους αὐτὸν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς θεοῖς ἐσγρά-

2 φεσθαι, καὶ φυλὴν Ἰουλίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τῷ τε στεφάνῳ αὐτὸν τῷ ἐπινικίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν πανηγύρεων χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς συννικήσαντάς οἱ βουλευτὰς ἐν περιπορφύροις ἰμα-

3 τίοις την πομπην αυτώ συμπέμιναι, την τε ημέραν ἐν ἡ ἀν ἐς την πόλιν ἐσέλθη θυσίαις τε πανδημεὶ ἀγαλθήναι καὶ ἱερὰν ἀεὶ ἄγεσθαι, ἱερἐας τε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅσους ἀν ἀεὶ ἐθελήση, προαιρεῖσθαι προσκατεστήσαντο ὅπερ που ἐξ ἐκείνου παραδοθὲν ἐς ἀόριστον ἐπηυξήθη, ώστε μηδὲν ἔτι χρήναι με περὶ τοῦ πλήθους Α αὐτόν ἀκουθολοπεῖσθαι καὶ Καΐαν Καΐαν και δολονος Δολονομονομονομονος και και Καΐαν και δολονος και δολ

4 αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πλην βραχέων ἐδέξατο, τὸ δὲ δη σύμπαυτας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει ὄντας ἀπαντήσαι

Ι ίσγράφεσθει Μ, Ιγγράφεσθει V.

The tribunes' authority, as a matter of fact, extended to the first mile stone outside the city; see Livy iii. 29, 7. Dio is apparently labouring under a meapprehension,

ROOK LI

a privilege possessed by none of the tribunes, 1-also ac 36 that he should judge appealed cases, and that in all the courts his vote was to be cast as Athena's vote." The priests and priestesses also in their prayers in behalf of the people and the senate were to pray for him likewise, and at all banquets, not only public but private as well, everybody was to pour a libation to him.

These were the decrees passed at that time; and ac a when he was consul for the fifth time, with Sextus Apuleius, they ratified all his acts by oath on the very first day of January. When the letter came regarding the Parthians, they further arranged that his name should be included in their hymns equally with those of the gods; that a tribe should be called the "Julian" after him; that he should wear the triumphal crown at all the festivals; that the senators who had participated in his victory should take part in the triumphal procession arrayed in purplebordered togas; that the day on which he entered the city should be honoured with sacrifices by the whole population and be held sacred for evermore; and that he might choose priests even beyond the regular number, -as many, in fact, as he should wish on any occasion. This last-named privilege, handed down from that time, was afterwards indefinitely extended, so that I need not henceforth make a point of giving the exact number of such officials. Now Caesar accepted all but a few of these honours, though he expressly requested that one of them, the proposal that the whole population of the city should

That is, in case of a tie vote, Camar's vote, like Athena's in the Areopagus at Athens, was to decide in favour of acquittal. Cf. Acsch., Eumen. 737 ff.; Eur., Iph. T. 965 f., 1472.

παρητήσατο ἄντικρυς μὴ γενέσθαι. πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τάς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἰανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐποίησαν ὅκαὶ γὰρ τότε δι ἄπερ εἶπον διελέλειπτο. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ἔτι καὶ Τρήουηροι Ἰ Κελτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενοι καὶ Κάνταβροι καὶ Οὐακκαῖοι καὶ ᾿Λστυρες καὶ οὐτοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ Στατιλιου, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπὸ Νωνίου Γάλλου κατεστράφησαν ἄλλα τε ὡς καθ' ἐκάστους ταραχώδη συχνὰ ἐγίγνετο ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν μέγα ἀπ' αὐτῶν συνηνέχθη, οὕτε ἐκεῖνοι τότε πολεμεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον οὕτε ἐγὰ ἐπιφανές τι περὶ αὐτῶν γράψαι ἔχω.

6 Καΐσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτω τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τἢ τε 'Ρώμη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἤρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἔν τε 'Εφέσω καὶ ἐν Νικαία γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν αὐται γὰρ τότε αἰ πόλεις ἔν τε τἢ λσία καὶ ἐν τἢ Βιθυνία 7 προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις τοῖς παρ αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Έλληνας σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἐαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν 'Ασιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμω τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδεία, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ ἰκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Έλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀκούει, δ ἐγένετο. ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῆ τε ἄλλη

3 Tr M., om. V.

¹ Трфоворов Вн., граворов VM.

[&]quot; Karrespon R. Steph., arraspon VM.

go out to meet him, should not be put into effect. ac. 29 Nevertheless, the action which pleased him more than all the decrees was the closing by the senate of the gates of Janus, implying that all their wars had entirely ceased, and the taking of the augurium salutis, which had at this time fallen into disuse for the reasons I have mentioned.1 To be sure, there were still under arms the Treveri, who had brought in the Germans to help them, and the Cantabri, the Vaccaei, and the Astures,-the three last-named of whom were later subjugated by Statilius Taurus, and the former by Nonius Gallus, -and there were also numerous other disturbances going on in various regions; vet inasmuch as nothing of importance resulted from them, the Romans at the time did not consider that they were engaged in war, nor have I, for my part, anything notable to record about them.

Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesus and in Nicaea to Rome and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero Julius.2 These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honour to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the ease of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy

Cf. xxxvii. 24. 2 7, c. Divus Inlius.

Ίταλία οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι: μεταλλάξασι μέντοι κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλαι τε ἰσόθεοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῷα ποιεῖται.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ἀνομα-21 σμένον ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῆ ποιεῖν. τοῦ δὲ δὴ θέρους ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἱταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντος οῖ τε ἄλλοι ἔθυσαν, ὥσπερ εἰρηται, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος Οὐαλέριος Ποτῖτος ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πᾶν τὸ ἔτος, ὡσπερ καὶ τὰ δύο τὰ πρότερα, ὑπάτευσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Σέξτον ὁ τοῦτος διεδέξατο. οὖτος οῦν δημοσία καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς

έπι τη του Καίσαρος άφιξει έβουθύτησεν δ μήπω πρότερον ἐπὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου ἐγεγόνει. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τούς τε ὑποστρατήγους καὶ ἐπή-3 νεσε καὶ ἐτίμησεν ὥσπερ είθιστο, καὶ τόν τε

ληρίππαν άλλοις τέ τισι καὶ σημείω κυανοειδεί ναυκρατητικώ προσεπεσέμνυνε, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκέ τινα· τῷ τε δήμω καθ' ἐκατὸν² δραχμάς, προτέροις μὲν τοῖς ἐς ἀνδρας τελοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τὸν Μάρκελλον τὸν

4 άδελφιδούν, διένειμε. καὶ ἐπί τε τούτοις, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία τὸ χρυσίαν τὸ τοῖς στεφάνοις προσῆκου οὐκ ἐδέξατο,

¹ dyérora V. dyérorta M. 1 factor M. faurle V.

⁴ Cf. chap. 1, 2, ² Cf. chap. 20, 3.

In earlier times it had been customary, when a general

BOOK LI

penerally no emperor, however worthy of renown he are that been, has dared to do this; still, even there various divine honours are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in

fact, shrines are built to them.

All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the "sacred" games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar's temple.1 In the course of the summer Caesar crossed over to Greece and to Italy; and when he entered the city, not only all the citizens offered sacrifice, as has been mentioned, but even the consul Valerius Potitus. Caesar, to be sure, was consul all that year as for the two preceding years, but Potitus was the successor of Sextus. It was he who publicly and in person offered sacrifices in behalf of the senate and of the people upon Caesar's arrival, a thing that had never before been done in the case of any other person. After this Caesar bestowed culogies and honours upon his lieutenants, as was customary, and to Agrippa he further granted, among other distinctions, a dark blue flag in honour of his naval victory, and he gave gifts to the soldiers; to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces apiece, first to the men who were adults, and afterwards to the children because of his nephew Marcellus. In view of all this, and because he would not accept from the cities of Italy the gold required for the crowns they had voted him, and because,

won a triumph, for the cities of his province to send gold crowns, which were carried before him in the triumphal procession. By Cicero's time it was a common practice to send, instead of the crowns themselves, their value in money (narcum corossrium); and this was now regarded as a form of tribute.

59

καὶ ότι! καὶ πάντα α τε αύτος ώφειλέ τισιν άπέζωκε, και α οι άλλοι ἐπώφειλου οὐκ ἐσέπραξεν, ώσπερ εξρηται, τών τε δυσγερών πάντων οι Ρωμαίοι επελάθοντο, και τα επινίκια αυτού ήδέως ώς και άλλοφύλων απάντων των ήττυι θέντων όντων είδον τοσούτου γάρ το πλήθος των γρημάτων διὰ πάσης όμοίως της πόλεως έγωρησεν ώστε τὰ μέν κτήματα έπιτιμηθήναι, τὰ δέ δανείσματα άγαπητώς έπὶ δραχμή πρότερον όντα τότε έπὶ τῶ τριτημορίω αυτής γενέσθαι, έωρτασε δέ τη μέν πρώτη ημέρα τά τε των Παννονίων καλ τα των Δελματών, της τε Ίαπνδίας καὶ των προσγώρων σφίσι, "Κελτών τε καὶ Γαλατών τινων, δ Γάιος γὰρ Καρρίνας τούς τε Μωρίνους καὶ άλλους τινάς συνεπαναστάντας αύτοις έχειρώσατο, καί τούς Σουήβους του * Ρήνον έπε πολέμω δια-Βάντας ἀπεώσατος καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ήγαγε μεν καὶ έκείνος τὰ νικητήρια, καίτοι τοῦ τε πατρός αὐτοῦ ύπο του Σύλλου θανατωθέντος, και αυτός άρξαι ποτέ μετά των άλλων των ομοίων οι κωλυθείς, ήγαγε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ, ἐπειδή ή ἀναφορὰ τῆς νίκης τη αυτοκράτορι αυτού άρχη προσήκουσα 7 ην. εν μεν οθν τη πρώτη ήμερα ταθτα διεωρτάαθη, έν δε τη δευτέρα ή πρός τώ 'Ακτίω ναυκρατία, κάν τη τρίτη ή της Αλγύπτου καταστροφή. επιφανείς μεν δή και αι άλλαι πομπαί διά τὰ ἀπ' αὐτης λάφυρα ἐγένοντο (τοσαῦτα γὰρ ήθροίσθη ώστε πάσαις έπαρκέσαι), πολυτελεστάτη ε δ΄ ουν και άξιοπρεπεστάτη αύτη ή Λίγυπτία. τά τε γαρ άλλα και ή Κλεοπάτρα έπι κλίνης έν τώ

¹ år: Rk., fri VM. 1 tannbias Xyl., langelas VM. 2 aples M, om. V. 1 rbe Bk., rår re VM.

BOOK LI

furthermore, he not only paid all the debts he himself at the owed to others, as has been stated,1 but also did not jusist on the payment of others' debts to him, the Romans forgot all their unpleasant experiences and viewed his triumph with pleasure, quite as if the vanquished had all been foreigners. So vast an amount of money, in fact, circulated through all parts of the city alike, that the price of goods rose and loans for which the borrower had been glad to pay twelve per cent. could now be had for one third that rate. As for the triumph, Caesar celebrated on the first day his victories over the Pannonians and Dalmatians, the lapydes and their neighbours, and some Germans and Gauls. For Gains Carrinas had subdued the Morini and others who had revolted with them, and had repulsed the Suebi, who had crossed the Rhine to wage war. Not only did Carrinas, therefore, eclebrate the triumph,-and that notwithstanding that his father had been put to death by Sulla and that he himself along with the others in like condition had once been debarred from holding office,but Caesar also celebrated it, since the credit of the victory properly belonged to his position as supreme commander. This was the first day's celebration. On the second day the naval victory at Actium was commemorated, and on the third the subjugation of Egypt. Now all the processions proved notable, thanks to the spoils from Egypt, -in such quantities, indeed, had spoils been gathered there that they sufficed for all the processions,-but the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and magnificence. Among other features, an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch was carried by, so that

τοῦ θανάτου μιμήματι παρεκομίσθη, ώστε τρόπου τινὰ καὶ ἐκείνην μετά τε τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ᾿Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Ἡλίου, τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας τῆς καὶ Σελήνης, τῶν τέκνων, ὡς τομπεῖον ὀφθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφ᾽ ἄπασιν αὐτοῖς ἐσελάσας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον ἔπραξε, τὸν δὲ δὴ συνύπατον τούς τε λοιποὺς ἄρχοντας περιείδε παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐπισπομένους οἱ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν συννενικηκότων εἰώθεσαν γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι οἱ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι.

92 Έπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διετέλεσε, τό τε 'Αθήναιον τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ὡνομασμένον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸ 'Τουλίειον, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ τιμῆ γενόμενον, καθιέρωσεν. ἐνέστησε δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ τῆς Νίκης τὸ καὶ νῦν ὄν, δηλῶν, ὡς

2 δοικεν, δτι παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκτήσατο ἡν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ταραυτίνων, καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθὲν ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίω ἰδρύθη καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις λαφύροις ἐκοσμήθη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ τοῦ

3 Ίουλίου ήρώω όσιωθέντι τότε ύπήρξε συχνά γάρ και ές έκεινο άνετέθη, και έτερα τῷ τε Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίω και τῆ "Ηρα τῆ τε 'Λθηνὰ ίερώθη, πάντων τῶν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἀνακεῖσθαι δοκούντων ἡ και ἔτι κειμένων ἐκ δόγματος τότε καθαιρεθέντων ὡς καὶ μεμιασμένων." και οῦτως ἡ Κλεοπάτρα καίπερ καὶ ἡττηθεῖσα καὶ άλοῦσα

I Ipinrobas M. Ereobas V.

^{*} μεμιασμένων v. Herwerden, μεμιαμμένων VM.

in a way she, too, together with the other captives ac w and with her children, Alexander, called also Helios, and Cleopatra, called also Sclene, was a part of the spectacle and a trophy in the procession. After this came Caesar, riding into the city behind them all. He did everything in the customary manner, except that he permitted his fellow-consul and the other magistrates, contrary to precedent, to follow him along with the senators who had participated in the victory; for it was usual for such officials to march in advance and for only the senators to follow.1

After finishing this celebration Caesar dedicated the temple of Minerva, called also the Chalcidicum, and the Curia Iulia, which had been built in honour of his father. In the latter he set up the statue of Victory which is still in existence, thus signifying probably that it was from her that he had received the empire. It had belonged to the people of Tarentum, whence it was now brought to Rome, placed in the senate-chamber, and decked with the spoils of Egypt The same course was followed in the case of the shrine of Julius which was consecrated at this time, for many of these spoils were placed in it also; and others were dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus and to Juno and Minerva, after all the objects in these temples which were supposed to have been placed there previously as dedications, or were actually dedications, had by decree been taken down at this time as defiled. Thus Cleopatra, though defeated and captured, was nevertheless glorified, inasmuch as her

The custom was for the magistrates to issue from the city to meet the victorious general, and then to turn and march ahead of him. Octavius, by putting them behind him, symbolized his position as chief citizen of the state.

έδοξάσθη, ότι τά τε κοσμήματα αύτης έν τοις ίεροις ήμων ανάκειται και αυτή έν τω 'Αφροδισίω

γρυση οράται.

Έν δ' οῦν τῆ τοῦ ήρώου όσιώσει ἀγῶνές τε παντοδαποί έγενοντο, και την Τροίαν εύπατρίδαι παίδες εππευσαν, άνδρες τε έκ των ομοίων σφίσιν έπί τε κελήτων και έπι συνωρίδων έπί! τε τεθρίππων άντηνωνίσαντο, Κύιντός τέ τις Ούιτέλλιος 5 βουλευτής έμονομάγησε, καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτά άλλα τε παμπληθή και ρινόκερως ίππος τε ποτάμιος, πρώτον τότε έν τη Ρώμη δφθέντα, έσφάγη, και ό μεν εππος οποίος έστι, πολλοίς τε εξοηται και πολύ πλείοσιν έωραται ό δε δή οινόκερως τὰ μέν άλλα ελέφαντί πη προσέοικε, κέρας δέ τι κατ' αυτήν την ρίνα προσέχει, και διά β τούτο ούτω κέκληται. ταύτά τε ούν ἐσήχθη, και άθρόοι προς άλληλους Δακοί τε και Σουήβοι έμαχέσαντο. είσι δε ούτοι μεν Κελτοί, έκεινοι δε δη Σκύθαι τρόπου τινά και οί μεν πέραν τοῦ Ρόνου ως γε τάκριβές είπειν (πολλοί γαρ καί άλλοι του των Σουήβων δνόματος άντιποιούν. ται), οι δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τοῦ Ίστρου νέμονται, 7 άλλ' οι μεν έπι τάδε αύτου και πρός τη Τρι-

Βαλλική οίκουντες ές τε του της Μυσίας νομον τελούσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλήν παρά τοίς πάνυ έπιγωρίοις, δυομάζουται, οί δε επέκεινα Δακοί κέκληνται, είτε δή Γέται τινές είτε καὶ Θράκες του Δακικού γένους του την Ροδόπην ποτέ ένοική-

8 σαντος όντες, ούτοι ούν οί Δακοί έπρεσ βεύσαντο μέν πρό του χρόνου τούτου πρός του Καίσαρα,

¹ dwf Polsk, The VM.

[&]quot; του των Pflugh, τούτων των V, τούτων τοῦ Μ.

BOOK LI

adornments repose as dedications in our temples and a.c. roshe herself is seen in gold in the shrine of Venus.

At the consecration of the shrine to Julius there were all kinds of contests, and the boys of the patricians performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy," and men of the same rank contended with chargers, with pairs, and with four-horse teams; furthermore, one Quintus Vitellius, a senator, fought as a gladiator. Wild beasts and tame animals were slain in vast numbers, among them a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus, beasts then seen for the first time in Rome. As regards the nature of the hippopotamus, it has been described by many and far more have seen it. The rhinoceros, on the other hand, is in general somewhat like an elephant, but it has also a horn on its very nose and has got its name because of this. These beasts, accordingly, were brought in, and moreover Dacians and Suebi fought in crowds with one another. The latter are Germans, the former Scythians of a sort. The Suebi, to be exact, dwell beyond the Rhine (though many people elsewhere claim their name), and the Dacians on both sides of the Ister; those of the latter, however, who live on this side of the river near the country of the Triballi are reckoned in with the district of Moesia and are called Moesians, except by those living in the immediate neighbourhood, while those on the other side are called Dacians and are either a branch of the Getae or Thracians belonging to the Dacian race that once inhabited Rhodope. Now these Dacians had before this time sent envoys to Caesar; but

ώς δ' ούδευος ών έδεοντο έτυχον, άπέκλιναν πρός του 'Αυτώνιου, και έκείνου μέν ούδευ μέγα ώφελησαν στασιάσαντες έν άλληλοις, άλόντες δε έκ τούτου τινές έπειτα τοίς Σουήβοις συνεβλήθησαν. 9 έγένετο δε ή θεωρία άπασα επὶ πολλάς, ώσπερ είκὸς ην, ημέρας, οὐδε διέλιπε ι καίτοι του Καίσαρος άρρωστήσαντος, άλλα και άποντος αυτού δι έτερων εποιήθη. και έν αυταίς οί βουλευταί μίαν τινά ώς έκαστοι ήμέραν έν τοῖς τῶν οἰκιῶν σφων προθύροις είστιάθησαν, οὐκ οἶδ δθεν ές τούτο προαχθέντες· οὐ γὰρ παραδέδοται.

Τότε μεν δη ταυθ' ουτως επράχθη, του δε δη Καίσαρος το τέταρτον έτι υπατεύοντος ο Ταύρος ο Στατίλιος θέατρον τι έν τῷ Αρείφ πεδίω κυνηγετικόν λίθινον και έξεποίησε τοῦς έαυτοῦ τέλεσι καὶ καθιέρωσεν οπλομαχία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο στρατηγόν ένα παρά του δήμου κατ έτος αί-

ρείσθαι ελάμβανε.

2 Κατά δὲ δή τους αύτους τούτους χρόνους ἐν οίς ταῦτ' ἐγύγνετο, ὁ Κράσσος ὁ Μάρκος ἔς τε τῆν Μακεδονίαν και ές την Ελλάδα πεμφθείς τοις τε Δακοίς και τοις Βαστάρναις ἐπολέμησε. και περί μεν εκείνων, οίτινες τε είσι και διά τι έπο-3 λεμώθησαν, είρηται Βαστάρναι δε Σκύθαι τε άκριβώς νενομίδαται, και τότε τον "Ιστρον διαβάντες τήν τε Μυσίαν την κατ άντιπέρας σφών και μετά τούτο και Τριβαλλούς όμύρους αυτή όντας τούς τε Δαρδάνους εν τη χώρα τη έκείνων οίκοθυτας έχειρώσαυτο. τέως μέν ούν ταθτ έποίουν, οὐδέν σφισι πραγμα προς τους Ρωμαίους

Bulkers Bk., Sulkaure VM. 4 natros M, natros ant V. " rate supplied by Bk.

BOOK LI

when they obtained none of their requests, they went accepted of no great assistance to him, however, owing to strife among themselves, and some who were afterwards captured were now matched against the Suebi. The whole spectacle lasted many days, as one would expect, and there was no interruption, even though Caesar fell ill, but it was carried on in his absence under the direction of others. On one of the days of this celebration the senators gave banquets in the vestibules of their several homes; but what the occasion was for their doing this, I do not know, since it is not recorded.

These were the events of those days. And while Caesar was still in his fourth consulship, Statilius Taurus both constructed at his own expense and dedicated with a gladiatorial combat a hunting-theatre of stone 1 in the Campus Martius. Because of this he was permitted by the people to choose one

of the practors each year.

During the same period in which these events occurred Marcus Crassus was sent into Macedonia and Greece and carried on war with the Dacians and Bastarnae. I have already stated who the former were and why they had become hostile; the Bastarnae, on the other hand, who are properly classed as Seythians, had at this time crossed the Ister and subdued the part of Moesia opposite them, and afterwards subdued the Triballi who adjoin this district and the Dardani who inhabit the Triballian country. And as long as they were thus engaged, they had no trouble

This was the first stone amphitheatre in Rome.

Α ήν ἐπεὶ δὲ τόν τε Λίμον ὑπερέβησαν καὶ τὴν Θράκην τὴν Δενθελητῶν ἔνσπονδον αὐτοῖς οὐσαν κατέδραμον, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κράσσος τὸ μέν τι τῷ Σιτὰ τῷ τῶν Δενθελητῶν βασιλεῖ τυφλῷ ὅντι ἀμώνων, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον περὶ τῆ Μακεδονία φοβηθεὶς ἀντεπῆλθέ σφισι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς προσόδου μόνης καταπλήξας ἐξέωσεν ἀμαχεὶ ἐκ

5 τῆς χώρας. κάκ τούτου οἰκαδε ἀναχωροῦντας ἐπιδιώκων τήν τε Σεγετικὴν καλουμένην προσεποιήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν Μυσίδα ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τήν τε χώραν σφῶν ἐκάκωσε καὶ πρὸς τεῖχός τι καρτερὸν προσελάσας τοῖς μὲν προδρόμοις ἔπταισε (μόνους γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Μυσοὶ οἰηθέντες εἶναι ἐπέξοδον ἐποιήσαντο), προσβοηθήσας δέ σφισι παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ἀνέκοψεν αὐτοὺς καὶ

24 προσεδρεύσας εξείλε. πράσσοντος δε αὐτοῦ ταῦτα οἱ Βαστάρναι τῆς τε φυγῆς ἐπέσχον καὶ πρὸς τῷ Κέδρο ποταμῷ κατέμειναν, περιορώμενοι τὰ γενησόμενα. ἐπειδή τε νικήσας τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ ἐπ ἐκείνους ώρμησε, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν ἀπαγορεύοντες αὐτῷ μὴ διώκειν σφᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν τοὺς

2 'Ρωμαίους ήδικηκότες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κράσσος κατασχών ὡς καὶ τἢ ὑστεραία τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δώσων, τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσατο καὶ κατεμέθυσεν ὥστε πάντα τὰ βουλεύματα αὐτῶν ἐκμαθεῖν ἀπλήστως τε γὰρ ἐμφορεῖται πᾶν τὸ Σκυθικὸν φῦλον οῖνον, καὶ ὑπερκορὲς αὐτοῦ ταχὺ 3 γίγνεται. Κράσσος δὲ ἐν τούτω τῆς νυκτὸς ἐς

ύλην τινά προχωρήσας, καὶ προσκόπους πρὸ αυτής καταστήσας, ἀνέπαυσέ τε τὸ στράτευμα,

¹ V omite from here to πεζούς in chap. 26, 1, without indicating a lacuna.

with the Romans; but when they crossed Haemus ac as and overran the part of Thrace belonging to the Dentheleti, which was under treaty with the Romans, then Crassus, partly to defend Sitas, king of the Dentheleti, who was blind, but chiefly out of fear for Macedonia, went out to meet them. By his mere approach he threw them into a panic and drove them from the country without a battle. Next he pursued them as they were retiring homeward, gained possession of the region called Segetica, and invading Moesia, ravaged the country and made an assault upon one of the strongholds. Then, although his advance line met with a repulse when the Moesians, thinking it an isolated force, made a sortic, nevertheless, when he reinforced it with his whole remaining army, he hurled the enemy back and besieged and destroyed the place. While he was accomplishing this, the Bastarnae checked their flight and halted near the Cedrus 1 river to observe what would take place. And when, after conquering the Moesians, Crassus set out against them also, they sent envoys bidding him not to pursue them, since they had done the Romans no harm. Crassus detained the envoys, on the plea that he would give them their answer the following day, treated them kindly in various ways, and made them drunk, so that he learned all their plans; for the whole Scythian race is insatiable in the use of wine and quickly becomes sodden with it. Meanwhile Crassus moved forward into a forest during the night. stationed scouts in front of it, and halted his army

The spelling is uncertain; the forms Cebrus, Cibrus, and Ciabrus are also found. Now the Tribritza.

καί μετά τούτο τών Βασταρνών μόνους τε έκείνους είναι νομισάντων και έπιδραμόντων σφίσιν, ές τε τὰ λάσια ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπακολουθησάντων, πολλούς μεν ένταύθα πολλούς δε καί ι φυγόντας έφθειρεν ύπο τε γάρ των άμαξων κατόπιν αυτοίς ουσών ένεποδίσθησαν, καὶ προσέτι και τούς παίδας τάς τε γυναίκας σώσαι έθελήσαντες έπταισαν, και τόν γε βασιλέα αύτων Δέλδωνα αύτος ὁ Κράσσος ἀπέκτεινε κάν τὰ σκύλα αὐτού τῷ Φερετρίφ Διὶ ὡς καὶ ὁπίμα ανέθηκεν, είπερ αυτοκράτωρ στρατηγός έγεγόνει. δ έκεινά τε ούν ούτως έπραχθη, και οι λοιποι οι μέν ές άλσος τι καταφυγύντες περιεπρήσθησαν, οί δέ ές τειχός τι έσπηδήσαντες έξηρέθησαν. άλλοι ές τὸν Ίστρον έμπεσύντες, άλλοι κατά τὴν χώραν η σκεδασθέντες εφθάρησαν. περιλειφθέντων δ' ουν καί ώς τινων, και χωρίον ίσχυρον καταλαβόντων. ημέρας μέν τινας μάτην σφίσιν ο Κράσσος προσήδρευσεν, έπειτα Γώλου οί Γετών τινων 7 βασιλέως επικουρήσαντος έξείλεν αὐτούς. τε 'Ρώλης πρός του Καίσαρα έλθων φίλος τε έπλ τούτο και σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ ἐνομίσθη, καὶ οἰ αίγμάλωτοι τοίς στρατιώταις διεδόθησαν.

25 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κράσσος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πείθων τινὰς τὰ δὲ ἐκφοβῶν τὰ δὲ καὶ βιαζόμενος, πάντας μὲν πλὴν πάνυ ὁλίγων, ἐπιπόνως δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐπικινδύνως κατεστρέτατο, καὶ τότε μέν (νειμών γὰρ ἦν) ἐς τὴν

2 ψατο. καὶ τότε μέν (χειμών γὰρ ἦν) ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους there. Then, when the Bastarnae, in the belief that access the scouts were all alone, rushed to attack them and pursued them as they retreated into the thick of the forest, he destroyed many of them on the spot and many others in the rout which followed. For not only were they hindered by their waggons, which were in their rear, but their desire to save their wives and children was also instrumental in their defeat. Crassus himself slew their king Deldo and would have dedicated his armour as spolia opima to Jupiter Feretrius had he been general in supreme command. Such was the nature of this engagement. As for the remainder of the Bastarnae, some perished by taking refuge in a grove, which was then set on fire on all sides, and others by rushing into a fort, in which they were annihilated; still others were destroyed by leaping into the Ister, or as they were scattered here and there through the country. But some survived even so and seized a strong position, where Crassus besieged them in vain for several days. Then with the aid of Roles, king of a tribe of the Getae, he destroyed them. Now Roles, when he visited Caesar, was treated as his friend and ally because of this service; and the captives were distributed among the soldiers.

After accomplishing this task Crassus turned his attention to the Moesians; and partly by persuasion in some cases, partly by terrifying them, partly also by applying force, he subdued all except a very few, though only after great hardships and dangers. And for the time being, since it was winter, he retired into friendly territory, after suffering greatly from

πολλφ δὲ ἔτι πλείω ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν, δι' ὧν ὡς
φίλων ἐπανήει, παθών ὅθενπερ γνώμην ἔσχεν
ἀρκεσθήναι τοῖς κατειργασμένοις. καὶ γὰρ κοὶ
θυσίαι καὶ νικητήρια οὐχ ὅτι τῷ Καίσαρι ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα, ὧς γέ τινές φασιν, ἔλαβεν,

- 3 ἀλλ' ὁ Καΐσαρ μόνος αὐτὸ προσέθετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἰ Βαστάρναι ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ μηκέτ' αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατεύσειν σφίσι πυθόμενοι, πρός τε τοὺς Δευθελήτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σιτᾶν αὖθις ὡς καὶ αἰτιώτατον αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν γεγονότα ἐτράποντο, οὕτω καὶ ἄκων ἐξανέστη, καὶ σπουδῆ χωρήσας ἀνέλπιστός τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κρατήσας σπονδὰς ὁποίας ἡθέλησεν
- έδωκεν. ὡς δ' ἄπαξ τῶν ὅπλων αὐθις ἡψατο, ἐπεθύμησεν ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς Θρᾶκας τοὺς ἐν τῆ ἀνακομιδῆ τῆ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας λυπήσαντας αὐτόν καὶ γὰρ τότε χωρία τε ἐντειχιζόμενοι καὶ πολεμησείοντες ἡγγέλλοντο. καὶ σφων Μαίδους μἐν καὶ Σερδοὺς μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν άλισκομένων ἀποτέμνων, οὐκ ἀπόνως μέν, ἐχειρώσατο δ' οὖν τὰ δ' ἄλλα πλὴν τῆς τῶν ὁ Ὀδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων νάο, ὅτι τῶ
- 5 Όδρυσῶν γῆς κατέδραμε. τούτων γάρ, ὅτι τῷ τε Διονύσῷ πρόσκεινται καὶ τότε ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήντησάν οἰ, ἐφείσατο· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ἡ καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀγάλλουσιν ἐχαρίσατο. Βησσούς τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν ἀφελόμενος.

26 Πράσσοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ὁ Ῥώλης Δάπυγι Γετῶν τινων καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ πολεμωθείς μετε. the cold and much more still at the hands of the LC 29 Thracians, through whose country he was returning in the belief that it was friendly. Hence he decided to be content with what he had already accomplished. For sacrifices and a triumph had been voted, not only to Caesar, but to him also; nevertheless, he did not receive the title of imperator, as some report, but Caesar alone assumed it. Bastarnae, now, angered at their disasters and learning that he would make no further campaigns against them, turned again upon the Dentheleti and Sitas, whom they regarded as having been the chief cause of their evils. Thus it came about that Crassus reluctantly took the field; and falling upon them anexpectedly after advancing by forced marches, he conquered them and imposed such terms of peace as he pleased. And now that he had once taken up arms again, he conceived a desire to punish the Thracians who had harassed him during his return from Moesia; for it was reported at this time that they were fortifying positions and were eager for war. He succeeded in subduing some of them, namely the Maedi and the Serdi, though not without difficulty, by conquering them in battle and cutting off the hands of the captives; and he overran the rest of the country except the territory of the Odrysac. These he spared because they are attached to the service of Dionysus, and had come to meet him on this occasion without their arms; and he also granted them the land in which they magnify the god, taking it away from the Bessi who were occupying it.

While he was thus engaged, Roles, who had become embroiled with Dapyx, himself also king of

πέμψατο, καὶ δς ἐπικουρήσας οἱ τήν τε ἵππον τῶν ἐναντίων ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐσήραξε, καὶ συμφοβήσας ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐκείνους μάχην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐποιήσατο, φόνον δὲ δη φευγόντων ἐκατέρων πολὺν εἰργάσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Δάπυγα πρὸς φρούριὸν τι καταφυγόντα ἀπολαβῶν ἐπολιόρκει κὰν τῆ προσεδρεία ἐλληνιστί τις αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσπασάμενος ἔς τε λύγους οἱ ἢλθε καὶ προδοσίαν συνέθετο. ἀλισκόμενοι οῦν οῦτως οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ῶρμησαν, καὶ ὅ τε Δάπυξ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. τὸν μέντοι ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ζωγρήσας ὁ Κράσσος οὐχ ὅτι τι¹ κακὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφῆκε.

Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον τὴν Κεῖριν καλουμένην ἐστρατεύσατο· τοῦτο γὰρ μέγιστόν τε ἄμα καὶ ἐχυρώτατον οὕτως ὂν ὡς καὶ τοὺς Τετᾶνας ἐς αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν ἡτταν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν δή σφισι γενομένην συγκαταφυγεῖν μυθεύεσθαι, καταλαβύντες οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πλήθει πολλῷ τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐς αὐτὸ

τε αλλά τα τιμωτάτα και τας αγελάς ες αυτό πάσας ἐσεκομίσαντο. ὁ οὐν Κράσσος τὰ τε στόμια αὐτοῦ πάντα σκολιὰ καὶ δυσδιερεύνητα ὅντα ἀναζητήσας ἀπφκοδόμησε, κὰκ τούτου κἀκείνους λιμῷ κατεστρέψατο. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεχώρησεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Γετῶν, καίπερ ὁ μηδὲν τῶ Δάπυνι προσηκόντων, ἀπέσγετο, ἀλλ'

δ μηδέν τῷ Δάπυγι προσηκόντων, ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Γένουκλα τὸ εὐερκέστατον τῆς Ζυράξου ἀρχῆς τεῖχος ἡλθεν, ὅτι τὰ σημεῖα, ἃ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου τοῦ Γαίου οἱ Βαστάρναι πρὸς τῆ τῶν 'Ιστριανῶν' πόλει ἀφήρηντο, ἐνταῦθα ἥκουεν ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸ

¹ rt M, om, V. S Torpusar Leunel., leredran VM.

BOOK LI

a tribe of the Getae, sent for him. Crassus went to his aid, and by hurling the horse of his opponents back upon their infantry he so thoroughly terrified the latter also that what followed was no longer a battle but a great slaughter of fleeing men of both arms. Next he cut off Dapyx, who had taken refuge in a fort, and besieged him. In the course of the siege someone hailed him from the walls in Greek, obtained a conference with him, and arranged to betray the place. The barbarians, thus captured, turned upon one another, and Dapyx was killed along with many others. His brother, however, Crassus took alive, and not only did him no harm but

actually released him.

After finishing this campaign Crassus led his troops against the cave called Ciris. For the natives in great numbers had occupied this cave, which is extremely large and so capable of defence that the tradition obtains that the Titans took refuge there after their defeat suffered at the hands of the gods; and here they had brought together all their herds and their other most cherished belongings. Crassus first sought out all the entrances to the cave, which are tortuous and difficult to discover, walled them up, and in this way subdued the men by famine. After this success he did not leave in peace the rest of the Getae, either, even though they had no connexion with Dapyx, but he marched upon Genucla, the most strongly defended fortress of the kingdom of Zyraxes, because he heard that the standards which the Bastarnae had taken from Gaius Antonius 1 near the city of the Istrians were there. His assault was made both by

πεζή τε άμα καὶ διὰ τοῦ "Ιστρου (πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ὕδατι ἐπεπόλιστο) προσβαλὼν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ μὲν χρόνῳ, σὰν πολλῷ δὲ δὴ πόνῳ, καίτοι τοῦ Ζυράξου ε μὴ παρόντος, εἶλεν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοῦ ἤσθετο, πρός τε τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπῆρε, καὶ οὐκ

έφθη ανακομισθείς.

Ταύτα μὲν ἐν Γέταις ὅπραξε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Μυσῶν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἐπαναστάντας δι 27 ἐτέρων ἀνεκτήσατο, ἐπὶ δὲ 'Αρτακίους ἄλλους τε τινας οὕθ' άλόντας ποτὲ οῦτ' αὖ προσχωρῆσαί οἱ ἐθέλοντας, καὶ αὐτούς τε μέγιστον ἐπὶ τούτω φρονοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀργήν τε ἄμα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντας, αὐτός τ' ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ σφας τὰ μὲν βία, δράσαντας οὐκ ὁλίγα, τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβω τῶν άλισκομένων προσηγάγετο.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν χρόνο ἐγένετο, γράφω δὲ τά τε ἄλλα ὡς που παραδέδοται, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀνόματα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι Μυσοί τε καὶ Γέται πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Αἴμου καὶ τοῦ Ἱστρου οὐσαν ἐνέμοντο, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐς ἄλλα

3 τινές αὐτῶν ὀνόματα μετέβαλον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ'
ès τὸ τῆς Μυσίας ὄνομα πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ Σάουος ἐς
τὸν Ἰστρον ἐμβάλλων, ὑπέρ τε τῆς Δελματίας
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας τῆς τε Θράκης, ἀπὸ
τῆς Παννονίας ἀφορίζει, συγκεχώρηκεν. καὶ ἔστιν
ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄλλα τε ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ οἱ Τριβαλλοί
ποτε προσαγορευθέντες, οἶ τε Δαρδάνιοι καὶ νῦν
οὕτω καλούμενοι.

land and from the Ister (the city is built upon the river), and in a short time, though with much toil, despite the absence of Zyraxes, he took the place. The king, it seems, as soon as he heard of the Romans' approach, had set off with money to the Seythians to seek an alliance, and had not returned in time.

These were his achievements among the Getae. And when some of the Moesians who had been subdued rose in revolt, he won them back by the aid of lieutenants, while he himself made a campaign against the Artacii and a few other tribes who had never been captured and would not acknowledge his authority, priding themselves greatly upon this point and at the same time inspiring in the others both anger and a disposition to rebel. He brought them to terms, partly by force, after they had made no little trouble, and partly by fear for their countrymen

who were being captured.

All these operations took a long time; but the facts I record, as well as the names, are in accordance with the tradition which has been handed down. In ancient times, it is true, Moesians and Getac occupied all the land between Hacmus and the Ister; but as time went on some of them changed their names, and since then there have been included under the name of Moesia all the tribes living above Dalmatia, Macedonia, and Thrace, and separated from Pannonia by the Savus, a tributary of the Ister. Two of the many tribes found among them are those formerly called the Triballi, and the Dardani, who still retain their old name.

BOOK LII

Table forester de til restaueere deutipy tur alwest Pupalaur

α. 'Δε Καίσαρ έβουλεύσατο την μοναρχίαν δφείναι.

Β. 'Πε αυτοκράτωρ καλείσθαι δρέατο.

Χρόνου πλήθος τὰ λοιπά τῆς Καίσαρος τὸ ε' καί Σέξτου 'Απουλείου ύπατείας."

Ταῦτα μὲν ἔν τε τῆ βασιλεία καὶ ἐν τῆ δημοκρατία ταις τε δυναστείαις, πέντε τε καὶ είκοσι καὶ ἐπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι, καὶ ἔπραξαν οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι καὶ ἔπαθον' ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχείσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἡρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένου τά τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῆ τε γερουσία καὶ τῷ δήμω ἐπιτρέψαι. 2 ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετά τε τοῦ 'Αγρίππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικήνου (τούτοις γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκοίνου), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ 'Αγρίππας πρότερος εἶπε τοιάδε·

2 "Μὴ θαυμάσης, ὡ Καῖσαρ, εἰ μέλλω σε ἀποτρέπειν ἀπὸ τῆς μοναρχίας, καίπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύσας ἐν ἀπ' αὐτῆς σοῦ γε αὐτῆν ἔχοντος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ σοὶ ὡψέλιμος γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλε, καὶ πάνυ ἀν αὐτῆν ἐσπούδασα. 2 ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι καὶ

ιδή δ΄ οὐδὲν δμοιον τοῖς τε αὐταρχοῦσι

ι και supplied by R. Steph.

και supplied by R. Steph.

BOOK LII

The following is contained in the Fifty second of Dio's Rome:-

How Caesar planned to lay aside his sovereignty (chaps. 1-40).

How he began to be called emperor (chap. 42).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Caesar (V) and Sextus Apuleius. (n.c. 29.)

Such were the achievements of the Romans and such their sufferings under the kingship, under the republic, and under the dominion of a few, during a period of seven hundred and twenty-five years. After this they reverted to what was, strictly speaking, a monarchy, although Caesar planned to lay down his arms and to entrust the management of the state to the senate and the people. He made his decision, however, in consultation with Agrippa and Maccenas, to whom he was wont to communicate all his secret plans; and Agrippa, taking the lead, spoke as follows:

"Be not surprised, Caesar, if I shall try to turn your thoughts away from monarchy, even though I should derive many advantages from it, at least if it was you who held the position. For if it were to be profitable to you also, I should advocate it most carnestly; but since the privileges of a monarchy

τοις φίλοις σφών παρέχεται, άλλ' οι μεν και άνεπιφθόνως και άκινδύνως πάνθ' όσα εθέλουσι καρπούνται, τοις δε και φθόνοι και κίνδυνοι συμβαίνουσιν, ου το έμαυτοῦ ίδιον, ώσπερ οὐδε ἐν τοις ἄλλοις, άλλὰ τὸ σὸν τό τε κοινὸν προιδέσθαι εδικαίωσα.

"Σκεψώμεθα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάντα τὰ προσόντα αὐτῆ, καὶ ὅπη ποτ ἀν ὁ λογισμὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάγη τραπώμεθα οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἐξ ἄπαντος τρόπου φήσει τις δεῦν ἡμᾶς ἐλέσθαι 4 αὐτήν, κάν μη λυσιτελούσα ή. εί δὲ μή, δόξομεν ήτοι της τε ευπραγίας ήττησθαι και υπό τών κατωρθωμένων έκπεφρονηκέναι, ή και πάλαι αύτης εφιέμενοι του τε πατέρα και την ές αύτον εὐσέβειαν ἐσκῆφθαι καὶ τὸν δημον την τε γερουσίαν προβεβλήσθαι, ούχ ίνα αύτους των έπιβουλευσάντων σφίσιν ἀπαλλάξωμεν, άλλ' ἵνα 5 ἐαυτοῖς δουλωσώμεθα. ἐκάτερον δὲ ὑπαίτιον. τίς μέν γαρ ούκ αν αγανακτήσειεν άλλα μέν όρων ήμας είρηκότας, άλλα δε αίσθανύμενος πεφρονηκότας: πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀν μᾶλλον νῦν μισήσειεν ήμᾶς ή εί κατ άρχας εύθυς τήν τε έπιθυμίαν άπεγυμνώσαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν μοναρχίαν ἄντικρυς ι ωρμήσαμεν: το μέν γαρ βίαιον τι τολμάν προσήκειν πως τη των ανθρώπων φύσει, καν πλεονεκτικόν είναι δοκή, πεπίστευται πάς γάρ ὁ προφέρων έν τινι πλέον άξιοι του καταδεεστέρου έγειν, καὶ κατορθώσας τέ τι ές την της ψυγής

¹ Béfoure K. Steph., Béfager VM.

^{2 7}ds M, 7d V.
3 he supplied by St.

^{*} ψυχής Rk., τύχης VM.

are by no means the same for the rulers as for their sec 22 friends, but, on the contrary, jealousies and dangers fall to the lot of the rulers while their friends reap, without incurring either jealousies or dangers, all the benefits they can wish for, I have thought it right, in this question as in all others, to have regard, not for my own interests, but for yours and the state's.

"Let us consider, now, at our leisure all the characteristics of this system of government and then shape our course in whichever direction our reasoning may lead us. For surely no one will assert that we are obliged to choose monarchy in any and all circumstances, even if it be not profitable. If we choose it, people will think that we have fallen victims to our own good fortune and have been bereft of our senses by our successes, or else that we have been aiming at sovereignty all the while, making of our appeals to your father and of our devotion to his memory a mere pretext and using the people and the senate as a cloak, with the purpose, not of freeing these latter from those who plotted against them, but of making them slaves to ourselves. And either explanation involves censure for us. For who could help being indignant when he finds that we have said one thing and then discovers that we have meant another? Would be not hate us much more now than if we had at the outset laid bare our desires and set out directly for the monarchy? To be sure. men have come to believe that it somehow is an attribute of human nature, however selfish that may seem, to resort to deeds of violence; for every one who excels in any respect thinks it right that he should have more than his inferior, and if he meets with any success, he ascribes his success to the force

ίσχυν άναφέρεται, και διαμαρτών τινος τη του 7 δαιμονίου φορά προστίθεται. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐπιβουλής και κακουργίας τοιουτό τι ποιών πρώτον μέν δολερός και σκολιός και κακοήθης και κακότροπος είναι νομίζεται, άπερ εὐ οίδ' ότι περί σού ούδένα αν υπομείνειας είπειν ή φρονήσαι, ούδ εί πάσης έκ τούτου της οίκουμένης άρξειας. έπειτα δὲ καὶ κατορθώσας άδικου την πλεονεξίαν πεποιήσθαι και σφαλείς δικαίαν την κακοπραγίαν 3 ειληφέναι δοκεί. τούτου δε δή ούτως έχουτος, ούδεν αν ήττον επικαλέσειε τις ήμιν και εί μηδέν τοιούτον ἀπό πρώτης ἐνθυμηθέντες ἔπειτα νῦν έπιθυμήσαιμεν αὐτού. το γάρ τοι τῶν τε παρόντων νικάσθαι και μήτε έαυτους κατέχειν τοις τε παρά της τύχης δοθείσι μη καλώς χρησθαι πολύ 2 χειρόν έστι τοῦ έκ κακοπραγίας άδικείν τινα οί μέν γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν συμφορῶν πολλάκις άναγκάζονται πρός την του συμφέροντός σφισι χρείαν καὶ ἄκοντες πλημμελείν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ άκράτορες έαυτών και παρά το λυσιτελούν γίγνονται. τους δὲ δη μήθ ἀπλότητά τινα ἐν τῆ ψυχή έχουτας μήτε τὰ δοθέντα σφίσιν άγαθὰ μετριάσαι δυναμένους πώς αν τις προσδοκήσειεν ήτοι των άλλων καλώς ήγεμονεύσειν ή ταίς 3 συμφοραίς όρθως χρήσεσθαι; ώς οὖν μηδέτερον αύτων πεπουθότες, μηδ' άλόγως τι πράξαι έπιθυμούντες, άλλ' δ τι ποτ' αν βουλευσαμένοις ήμαν άριστον φανή τουθ' αίρησόμενοι, την διάγνωσιν

of his own intelligence, whereas if he fails, he lays access the blame for his failure upon the influence of the divine will. But, on the other hand, the man who, in following such a course, resorts to plotting and villainy, is, in the first place, held to be crafty and erooked, malicious, and depraved, -- an opinion which I know you would not allow anyone to express or to entertain about you, even if you might rule the whole world by such practices; and, in the second place, if he succeeds, men think that the advantage he has gained is unjust, or if he fails, that his discomfiture is merited. This being the case, men would reproach us quite as much if we should now, after the event, begin to covet that advantage, even though we harboured no such intention at the outset. For surely it is much worse for men to let circumstances get the better of them and not only to fail to hold themselves in cheek but to abuse the gifts of Fortune, than to wrong others in consequence of failure. For men who have failed are often compelled by their very misfortunes to commit wrongs even against their will in order to meet the demands of their own interests, whereas the others voluntarily abandon their self-control even when it is unprofitable to do so. And when men have no straightforwardness in their souls, and are incapable of moderation in dealing with the blessings bestowed upon them, how could one expect them either to rule well over others or to conduct themselves properly in adversity? In the conviction, therefore, that we are guilty of neither of these shortcomings, and that we have no desire to act irrationally, but that we shall choose whatever course shall appear to us after deliberation to be best, let us proceed to make our decision

αὐτοῦ ποιησώμεθα. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας οὕτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλως ἄν τι εἰπεῖν δυναίμην, οὕτε σοὶ σύνοιδα τὰ ψευδῆ μετὰ κολακείας ἡδέως ἀκούοντι.

" Η μέν τοίνυν Ισονομία τό τε πρόσρημα εύωνυμον και το έργον δικαιότατον έχει, τήν τε γάρ φύσιν την αὐτήν τινας είληχότας καὶ όμοφύλους άλληλοις όντας, έν τε τοις αυτοίς ήθεσι τεθραμμένους καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις πεπαι-2 δευμένους, και κοινήν και την τών σωμάτων και την των ψυχών χρησιν τη πατρίδι παρέχοντας, πώς μέν ου δίκαιον και τάλλα πάντα κοινούσθαι. πως δ' ούκ άριστου ευ μηδευί πλην απ' αρετής 3 προτιμάσθαι; ή τε γάρ ισογονία ισομοιρίας όριγνάται, καὶ τυχούσα μέν αὐτής χαίρει, διαμαρτούσα δε άχθεται καὶ το ανθρώπειον πῶν, ᾶτε έκ τε θεών γεγονός και ές θεούς άφηξον, άνω Βλέπει, καὶ ούτε εθέλει ύπο του αυτού δια παντός Α άρχεσθαι, ούθ' ύπομένει τών μέν πόνων καὶ τών κινδύνων των τε δαπανημάτων μετέχου, της δέ κοινωνίας των κρειττόνων στερόμενου, άλλα κάν άναγκασθή τι τοιούτον υποστήναι, μισεί το βε-Βιασμένον, κάν καιρού λάβηται, τιμωρείται το 5 μεμισημένου. άρχειν τε γάρ πάντες άξιούσι, καὶ διά τούτο και άρχεσθαι έν τῷ μέρει ὑπομένουσι καὶ πλεονεκτείσθαι ούκ εθέλουσι, καὶ διὰ τούτο ούδ' αύτοὶ πλεονεκτείν άναγκάζονται, ταίς τε τιμαίς ταις παρά των ομοτίμων χαίρουσι, καὶ 6 τας τιμωρίας τας έκ των νόμων έπαινούσι. κάν ούτω πολιτεύωνται, κοινά μεν τα άγαθα κοινά

accordingly. I shall speak quite frankly, for I could see to not, for my part, speak otherwise, and I know you too well to think that you like to listen to falsehood

mingled with flattery.

"Equality before the law has an auspicious name and is most just in its workings. For in the case of men who are endowed with the same nature, are of the same race with one another, have been brought up under the same institutions, have been trained in laws that are alike, and yield in an equal degree the service of their bodies and of their minds to their country, is it not just that they should have an equal share in all other things also, and is it not best that they should secure no distinctions except as the result of excellence? For equality of birth demands equality of privilege, and if it attains this object, it is glad, but if it fails, it is displeased. And the human race everywhere, sprung as it is from the gods and destined to return to the gods, gazes upward and is not content to be ruled forever by the same person. nor will it endure to share in the toils, the dangers, and the expenditures and yet be deprived of partnership in the better things. Or, if it is forced to submit to anything of the sort, it hates the power which has applied coercion, and if it obtains an opportunity, takes vengeance upon what it hates. All men, of course, claim the right to rule, and for this reason submit to being ruled in turn; they are unwilling to have others overreach them, and therefore are not obliged, on their part, to overreach others. They are pleased with the honours bestowed upon them by their equals, and approve of the penalties inflicted upon them by the laws. Now if they live under this kind of polity and regard the blessings and also the

δέ και τα έναντια νομίζουτες είναι, ούτε τι κακόν ούδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν γίγνεσθαι βούλονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ κρείττω πάσιν αὐτοῖς συνεύχονται. τ και άν τε τις αὐτὸς άρετήν τινα έχη, και προ-

φαίνει αὐτὴν προχείρως καὶ ἀσκεῖ προθύμως καὶ επιδείκνυσιν ασμενέστατα, αν τε και έν έτερω ίδη, καὶ προάγει ετοίμως καὶ συναύξει σπουδαίως

8 και τιμά λαμπρότατα. και μέντοι κάν κακύνηται τις, πας αὐτὸν μισεί, κάν δυστυχή, πας έλεεί, κοινήν της πόλεως και την ζημίαν και την αισχύνην

την άπ' αύτῶν είναι νομίζων.

5 " Αύτη μεν ή των δήμων κατάστασις, εν δε δή ταίς τυραννίσι πάντα τάναντία συμβαίνει. καὶ τὰ μέν πολλὰ τί δεί μηκύνειν λέγοντα; το δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, χρηστον μεν ούδεις ούδεν ούτ είδεναι ούτ' έχειν δοκείν βούλεται (πολέμιον γάρ αυτώ παν έπὶ τούτω το κρατούν ώς πλήθει γίγνεται), 2 του δὲ ἐκείνου τις τρόπου κανόνα τοῦ βίου ποιησάμενος, δ τι ποτ' αν έλπίση δι' αὐτοῦ

πλεονεκτήσας ακινδύνως κερδανείν, μετέρχεται. και διά τουθ οί πλείους σφών τό τε καθ έαυτούς! μόνον σπεύδουσι καὶ πάντας τους άλλους μισούσι, τάς τε εύπραγίας αύτων οίκειας ζημίας και τὰς συμφορὰς ίδια κέρδη ποιούμενοι.

3 " Τοιούτων δε δή τούτων όντων ούχ όρω τί ποτ άν εικότως επάρειε σε μουαρχήσαι επιθυμήσαι. πρός γάρ τω τοις δήμοις χαλεπου είναι το πολίτευμα, πολύ δυσχερέστερου αυτώ σοι γένοιτο άν.

At this point a quaternion (containing the chapters down to 20, 4) is missing from M. L', the copy of M, here becomes of importance, since the scribe filled the lacuna in M from L, which was then complete. See vol. i. p. xxv.

opposite as belonging to all alike, they not only wish no harm to befall any one of the citizens, but devoutly hope that nothing but prosperity will fall to the lot of each and all. And if one of them possesses any excellence himself, he readily makes it known, practises it enthusiastically, and exhibits it most joyfully; or if he sees it in another, he readily brings it to the light, eagerly takes part in increasing it, and bestows the most splendid honours upon it. On the other hand, if any one shows himself base, everybody hates him, and if any one meets with misfortune, everybody pities him; for each person regards the loss and the disgrace that arise therefrom as shared

in by the whole state.

"This is the character of democracies. Under tyrannies exactly the opposite conditions are found. But why go into all the details at length? The chief thing is that no one is willing to be thought to have any superior knowledge or possession, because the dominant power generally becomes wholly hostile to him on account of such superiority; on the contrary, every one makes the tyrant's character his own standard of life and pursues whatever objects he may hope to gain through him by overreaching others without personal risk. Consequently, the majority of the people are devoted only to their own interests and hate all their neighbours, regarding the others' successes as their own losses and the others' misfortunes as their own gains.

"Such being the state of the case, I do not see what motive could reasonably induce you to desire to become sole ruler. For that system, besides being difficult to apply to democracies, would be vastly more difficult still for you yourself to put into effect.

ἡ ούχ όρᾶς ὅπως ἡ τε πόλις καὶ τὰ πράγματα τα αὐτῆς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ταράττεται; καὶ χαλεπον μέν ἐστι τὸ τὸν ὅμιλον ἡμῶν, τοσούτοις ἔτεσιν ἐν ἐλευθερία βεβιωκότα, καταλύσαι, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τοὺς συμμάχους τούς τε ὑπηκόους, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ὅημοκρατουμένους τοὺς δ΄ ὑφ΄ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἡλευθερωμένους, ἐς δουλείαν αὐθις καταστῆσαι, τοσούτων πέριξ πολεμίων ἡμῖν προσκειμένων.

" Καὶ ΐνα γε ἀπὸ πρώτου τοῦ Βραχυτάτου άρξωμαι, χρήματά σοι πολλά και πανταχόθεν άναγκαίον έσται πορίζειν άδύνατον γάρ τὰς νῦν ούσας προσόδους πρός τε τάλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τών στρατιωτών τροφήν έξαρκέσαι. τουτο δέ έστι μέν καὶ έν ταις δημοκρατίαις ού γάρ οίον τε 2 πολιτείαν τινά άνευ δαπάνης συστήναι. άλλ' έν μέν έκείναις μάλιστα μέν έκόντες πολλοί πολλά έπιδιδόασιν, έν φιλοτιμίας μέρει το πράγμα ποιούμενοι καὶ τιμάς άντ' αὐτῶν άξίας άντιλαμβάνοντες αν δέ που καὶ αναγκαίαι παρά πάντων εσφοραί γένωνται, έαυτούς τε 1 πείθοντες 3 καὶ ὑπέρ ἐαυτῶν συντελοῦντες ἀνέγονται. ἐν δὲ δή ταις δυναστείαις τό τε άρχον πάντες μόνον ώς και υπερπλουτούν άξιούσι δαπανάσθαι, τὰς μέν προσόδους αὐτοῦ ἐτοίμως ἐξερευνώμενοι, τὰ δ' αναλώματα οὐκέθ' όμοίως ἐκλογιζόμενοι καὶ οὐτ' ίδία ήδέως ή και έκοντες έπιδιδόασί τι, ούτε τας

BOOK LII

Or do you not see how the city and its affairs are ac. 20 even now in a state of turmoil? It is difficult, also, to overthrow our populace, which has lived for so many years in freedom, and difficult, when so many enemies beset us round about, to reduce again to slavery the allies and subject nations, some of which have had a democratic government from of old, while others of them have been set free by us ourselves.

"To begin first with the least important consideration, it will be necessary that you procure a large supply of money from all sides; for it is impossible that our present revenues should suffice for the support of the troops, not to speak of the other expenses. Now this need of funds, to be sure, exists in democracies also, since it is not possible for any government to continue without expense. But in democracies many citizens make large contributions, preferably of their own free will, in addition to what is required of them, making it a matter of patriotic emulation and securing appropriate honours in return for their liberality; or, if perchance compulsory levies are also made upon the whole body of citizens, they submit to it both because it is done with their own consent and because the contributions they make are in their own interests. In monarchical governments, on the other hand, the citizens all think that the ruling power alone, to which they credit boundless wealth, should bear the expense; for they are very ready to search out the ruler's sources of income, but do not reckon his expenses so carefully; and so they make no contributions from their private means gladly or of their own free will, nor are the public levies they make

4 κοινὰς συντελείας αὐθαιρέτους ποιοῦνται. ἐκεῖνο μἐν γὰρ οὕτ' ἄν ἐθελήσειέ τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁμολογήσειεν ἄν ῥαδίως πλουτεῖν) οὕτε συμφέρει τῷ κρατοῦντι γιγνεσθαι αὐτίκα γὰρ ἄν δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς καὶ φιλόπολις ἔχων ὀγκωθείη καὶ νεωτερίσειε. τὸ δ' ἔτερον πάνυ τοὺς πολλοὺς βαρύνει, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν μὲν ζημίαν αὐτοὶ ὑπομένουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κέρδος ἔτεροι πλαμβάνουσιν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις καὶ

στρατεύονται ώς πλήθει οἱ τὰ χρήματα συνεσφέροντες, ώστε τρόπον τινὰ αὐθις αὐτὰ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἄλλοι μὲν ώς τὸ πολύ καὶ γεωργοῦσι καὶ δημιουργοῦσι καὶ ναυτίλλονται καὶ πολιτεύονται, παρ' ὧνπερ καὶ αὶ λήψεις μάλιστα γίγνονται, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα

έχουσι καὶ τὸν μισθὸν φέρουσιν.

7 ""Εν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοιοῦτον ον πράγματά σοι παρέξει, ἔτερον δὲ ἐκεῖνο. πάντως μέν τινα δεῖ ἐκην τὸν ἀεὶ κακουργοῦντα διδόναι οὕτε γὰρ ἐκ νουθεσίας οὕτε ἐκ παραδειγμάτων οἱ πολλοὶ σωφρονίζονται, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀτιμία καὶ φυγῆ καὶ θανάτω ζημιοῦσθαι, οἰα ἔν τε ἀρχῆ τηλικαύτη καὶ ἐν μεταβολῆ πολιτείας, 2 φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν. τούτοις "δ΄ ἀν μὲν ἐτέρους δικαστὰς καθίζης, ἀπολύοιντό τε ἀν διασπευδόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσους ᾶν ἐχθραίνειν νομισθῆς καὶ γὰρ προσποίησίν τινα ἐξουσίας οἱ δικάζοντες λαμβάνουσιν, ὅταν τι παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ 3 κρατοῦντι ποιήσωσι κὰν ἄρα τινὲς ἀλίσκωνται,

¹ τοσοάτω St., τοσούτων VL'. 2 τούτοιε Xyl., τούτουε VL'.
3 άλδακωτται Β. Stoph., άλδακωται VL'.

voted of their own free choice. As for the voluntary Ba 28 contributions, no citizen would feel free to make one, any more than he would readily admit that he was rich, and it is not to the advantage of the ruler that he should, for immediately he would acquire a reputation for patriotism among the masses, become conceited, and incite a rebellion. On the other hand, a general levy weighs heavily upon the masses, the more so because they suffer the loss while the others reap the gain. Now in democracies those who contribute the money as a general rule also serve in the army, so that in a way they get their money back again; but in monarchies one set of people usually engages in agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, and politics, and these are the classes from which the state's receipts are chiefly derived,and a different set is under arms and draws pay.

"This single circumstance, then, which is as I have described it, will cause you trouble. But here is another. It is by all means essential that whoever from time to time commits a crime should pay some penalty. For the majority of men are not brought to reason by admonition or by example, but it is absolutely necessary to punish them by disfranchisement, by exile, or by death; and such punishments are often administered in an empire as large as this is and in a population as great as ours, especially during a change of government. Now if you appointed other men to judge these wrongdoers, they would vie with each other in acquitting the accused, and particularly all whom you might be thought to hate; for judges, you know, gain an appearance of authority when they act in any way contrary to the wish of the ruler. And if an

διά σε δόξουσιν έκ κατασκευάσματος κατεψηφίσθαι, αν δ' αυτός δικάζης, πολλούς αναγκασθήση καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων κολάζειν (τοῦτο δὲ ούκ εύτυγές), και πάντως τινάς αύτων όργη 4 μάλλου ή δικαιώσει δόξεις ι ευθύνειν τους γάρ Βιάζεσθαι δυναμένους ούδεις δικάζοντας δικαιοπραγείν πιστεύει, άλλ' οξουται πάντες αύτους σγήμα και σκιαγραφίαν πολιτείας αισγύνη προ της άληθείας προπεταννύντας, δνόματι έννόμω * δικαστηρίου την ξαυτών ξπιθυμίαν άποπιμπλάναι. ἐν μὲν οὐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ταῦθ' οὕτω 5 γίγνεται έν δὲ δὴ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις, ἄν τ' ίδία τις άδικεῖν αἰτίαν λάβη, ίδίαν δίκην παρά δικασταίς ίσοις φεύγει, άν τε δημοσία, καὶ ἐκείνω δικασταί καθίζουσιν" έκ των ομοίων ους άν 4 ο κλήρος αποδείξη, ώστε ράου τα αποβαίνουτα απ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φέρειν, μήτ' ἰσγύι δικαστου μήτε χάριτι άναγκαστή 5 νομίζοντάς τι πεπουθέναι.

8 "Ετι τοίνυν πολλοί χωρίς των τι ἀδικούντων, οἱ μὲν γένει, οἱ δὲ πλούτω, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρο τινὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ κακοὶ ἄνδρες, τῆ δὲ δὴ προαιρέσει τῆ τῆς μοναρχίας ἐναντίοι φύονται καὶ αὐτοὺς οὕτ' αὕξεσθαί τις ἐων ἀσφαλως δύναται ζῆν, οὕτ' αὐ κολούειν ἐπιχειρων δικαίως

¹ Edgest L', Bagn V. 2 Irrany Naber, dredpor VI.

andiformir Rk., nostfarin VI..

в аваунавті I/, акаунавні V.

occasional criminal is in fact convicted, it will be access thought that he has been condemned deliberately. in order to please you. But if, on the other hand, you sit in judgment yourself, you will be obliged to punish many also of your peers-an unfortunate situation-and you will certainly be thought to be calling some of them to account through resentment rather than through a sense of justice. For no one believes that those who have the power to use compulsion are acting honestly when they give judgment, but all men think they are led by a sense of shame to spread out before the truth a mere semblance and illusive picture of a constitutional government, and under the legal name of a court of justice are but satisfying their own desires. This, then, is what happens in monarchies. In democracies, on the other hand, when any one is accused of committing a private wrong, he is made defendant in a private suit before a jury of his equals; or, if he is accused of a public crime, in his case also a jury of his peers, men whom the lot shall designate, sits in judgment. It is therefore easier for men to bear the decisions which proceed from such juries, since they think that any penalty dealt out to them has been inflicted neither by a judge's power nor as a favour which a judge has been forced to grant.

"Then again, apart from those who are guilty of wrongdoing, there are many men who pride themselves, some on their birth, others on their wealth, and still others on something else, who, though in general not bad men, are yet by nature opposed to the principle of monarchy. If a ruler allows these men to become strong, he cannot live in safety, and if, on the other hand, he undertakes to impose a

2 τούτο ποιείν. τί ποτ' ούν τούτοις χρήση; πώς αὐτούς μεταχειρίση; ἀν μὲν γὰρ τά τε γένη σφῶν καθέλης και τους πλούτους έλαττώσης τά τε φρονήματα ταπεινώσης, οὐδεμίαν αν εὐνοιαν παρά των άρχομένων λάβοις πως γάρ, εί μήτε γενυηθήναί τω καλώς μήτε πλουτήσαι δικαίως, μήτ λοχυρώ μήτ' ἀνδρείω μήτε συνετώ γενέσθαι έξείη: 3 ἀν δὲ ἐάσης ταῦθ' ὡς ἔκαστα αὐξειν, οὐκ ἀν ραδίως αὐτὰ διάθοιο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ αὐτὸς μόνος πρός τε τὸ τὰ πολιτικά και πρός τὸ τὰ πολεμικά καλώς και κατά καιρόν πράττειν εξήρκεις, καὶ μηδενός συνεργού πρός μηδέν αὐτῶν έχρηζες, ι έτερος αν ήν λόγος νύν δε πασά σε ανάγκη συναγωνιστάς πολλούς, άτε τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης άρχοντα," έχειν, καὶ προσήκει που πάντας αὐτούς και άνδρείους και φρονίμους είναι, οὐκοῦν άν μέν τοιούτοις τισί τά τε στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς άρχας έγχειρίζης, κίνδυνος έσται καί σοί και τη 5 πολιτεία καταλυθήναι ου γαρ έστιν ουτ άνευ φρονήματος άξιόλογον ἄνδρα φύναι, ούτ' αὐ φρόνημα μέγα λαβείν έκ δουλοπρεπούς ἐπιτηδεύσεως, ου μην ουδέ φρονηματίαν γενόμενου μή ούκ ελευθερίας επιθυμήσαι και πάν το δε-6 σπόζου μισήσαι. αν δε δή τούτοις μεν μηδέν έπιτρέπης, τοις δε δή φαύλοις και τοις τυχούσι τὰ πράγματα προστάσσης, τάχιστα μὲν αν δργήν παρ εκείνων ώς άπιστουμένων λάβοις, τάχιστα 7 δ' αν εν τοις μεγίστοις πταίσειας. τί μεν γαρ αν

7 ὁ ᾶν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις πταίσειας. τί μὲν γάρ ᾶν ἀγαθὸν ἀμαθὴς ἡ ἀγεννὴς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐργάσαιτο; τίς δ' οὐκ ᾶν καταφρονήσειεν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολεμίων;

a supplied by Bs. Apxarra Leunel., Soxorras VL.

check on them, he cannot do so justly. What, then, a.c. 22 will you do with them? How will you deal with them? If you root out their families, diminish their wealth, and humble their pride, you will not have the good-will of your subjects. How could you have it, if no one is permitted to be born to noble rank, or to grow rich honestly, or to become strong or brave or intelligent? Yet if you allow these various classes to grow strong, you will not be able to deal with them easily. True, if you alone were equal to carrying on the business of the state and the business of warfare successfully and in a manner to meet the demands of each situation, and needed no assistant for any of these matters, it would be a different matter. As the case stands, however, since you would be governing this vast world, it would be quite essential for you to have many helpers; and of course they ought all to be both brave and high-spirited. Now if you hand over the legions and the offices to men of such parts, there will be danger that both you and your government will be overthrown. For it is not possible either for a man of any real worth to be naturally lacking in spirit, or on the other hand for a man sprung from a servile sphere of life to acquire a proud spirit; nor, again, if he proves himself a man of spirit, can he fail to desire liberty and to hate all mastery. If, on the other hand, you entrust nothing to these men, but put affairs in charge of common men of indifferent origin, you will very soon incur the resentment of the first class, who will think themselves distrusted, and you will very soon fail in the greatest enterprises. For what good thing could an ignorant or low-born person accomplish? Who of our enemies would not hold him in con-

τίς δ' άν πειθαρχήσειεν' οι των συμμάχων; τίς δ' ούκ άν και αὐτών τών στρατιωτών άπαξιώσειεν ύπό τοιούτου τινός άρχεσθαι; και μην όσα εκ τούτου κακά γίγνεσθαι πέφυκε, τα μεν άλλα 8 οὐδεν δέομαι σοι σαφώς ειδότι δυγγείσθαι, εκείνο δε δη μόνον άναγκαίως έρω, ότι άν μεν μηδεν δέον ό τοιούτος πράττη, πολύ πλείω άν σε τών πολεμίων βλάψειεν, άν δε τι τών προσηκόντων ποιη, και αὐτὸς άν σοι φοβερὸς εκφρονήσας ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας γένοιτο.

"Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις τοιοῦτό τι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσφ ἄν πλείους καὶ πλουτῶσι καὶ ἀνδρίζωνται, τόσφ μᾶλλον αὐτοί τε φιλοτιμοῦνται καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὕξουσι, καί σφισι καὶ ἐκείνη κέχρηται καὶ χαίρει, πλὴν ἄν τις τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμήση τοῦτον γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς κολάζουσι.

2 καὶ ὅτι ταὐθ οὕτως ἔχει καὶ πολλῷ κρείττους αἰ δημοκρατίαι τῶν μοναρχιῶν εἰσι, δηλοὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐπολιτεύοντο, οὐδὲν μέγα κατέπραξαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνως εξην

3 ήρξαντο, ονομαστότατοι έγένοντο δηλοί δε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ὧν οι μεν ἐν τυραννίσι καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαγόμενοι ἀεί τε δουλεύουσι καὶ ἀεί τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔπιβουλεύουσιν, οι δε δὴ προστατείαις ἐπετησίοις ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω τινὰ χρόνον χρώμενοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι διατελοῦσιν

4 δίντες. άλλα τί δεί ήμας άλλοτρίως παραδείγμαστι οίκεια έχοντας χρησθαι; ημείς γαρ αυτοί οί 'Ρωμαίοι άλλως το πρώτον πολιτευόμενοι,

¹ πειθαρχήσειδε (πιθαρχήσειδε) L', πιθάρχησει V. 1 Ικείναι L', δεείναι V.

BOOK LII

even of the soldiers themselves would not disdain to be ruled by such a man? And yet I need not explain to you all the evils that naturally result from such a condition, for you know them thoroughly; but this one thing I shall say, as I am constrained to do—that if a minister of this kind failed in every duty, he would injure you far more than the enemy, while if he met with any success in the conduct of his office, his lack of education would cause him to lose his head and he as well would

prove formidable to you.

"Such a situation, however, does not arise in democracies, but the more men there are who are wealthy and brave, so much the more do they vie with each other and upbuild the state, and the state, on its part, rejoices in them, unless one of them conceives a desire for tyrannical power; for the citizens severely punish such an one. That this is so, now, and that democracies are far superior to monarchies, is shown by the experience of Greece. For as long as the people had the monarchical form of government, they accomplished nothing of importance; but when they began to live under the democratic system they became most renowned. It is shown also by the experience of the other races of mankind. For those which still live under tyrannics are always in slavery and are always plotting against their rulers, whereas those which have governors chosen for a year or a longer period continue to be both free and independent. But why should we resort to examples furnished by other peoples when we have examples here at home? We Romans ourselves at first had a different form of government, then later, after we

97

έπειτα έπειδη πολλά και δεινά έπάσχομεν, της τε έλευθερίας έπεθυμήσαμεν και λαβόντες αὐτην προς τοσούτον δγκον προήλθομεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ή τοῖς έκ της δημοκρατίας άγαθοῖς ἰσχύσαντες, ἐξ ὧν ή τε ¹ γερουσία προεβούλευε και ὁ δημος ἐπεκύρου τό τε στρατευόμενον προεθυμεῖτο και τὸ στρατηγοῦν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. ὧν οὐδὲν ἀν ἐν τυραννίδι πραχθείη. ἀμέλει τοσούτον αὐτης διὰ ταῦτα μίσος οἱ πάλαι 'Ρωμαῖοι ἔσχον ὧστε και ἐπάρατον τὸ πολίτευμα ποιήσασθαι.

10 "Χωρίς δε τούτων, εί δεί τι καὶ περί των ίδία σοι αυτώ συμφερόντων είπειν, πως μέν αν υπομείνειας τοσαύτα και μεθ' ημέραν και νύκτωρ διοικών, πώς δ' αν μη υγιαίνων έξαρκέσειας; τίνος δ' αν των αγαθών των ανθρωπίνων απολαύσειας, πως δ' αν στερόμενος αύτων εύδαιμονήσειας; τίνι δ αν ακριβώς ήσθείης, πότε δ ούκ 2 αν ισχυρώς λυπηθείης; πάσα γάρ ανάγκη τον τηλικαύτην άρχην έχοντα και φροντίζειν πολλά και δεδιέναι πολλά, και των μεν ήδιστων ελάχιστα ἀπολαύειν, τὰ δὲ δυσχερέστατα ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχού και ακούειν και όραν και ποιείν και πάσχειν. όθεν, οίμαι, καὶ "Ελληνες καὶ βάρ-Βαροί τινες ούδε διδομένας σφίσι βασιλείας έδέ-Еанто.

3 "Ταῦτ' οὖν προϊδόμενος προβούλευσαι πρὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι αἰσχρὸν γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι παρακύψαντά τινα ἄπαξ ἐς αὐτὰ

¹ A TE L', A TE & V.

^{*} πραχθείη V, προαχθείη L'.
* προεδόμενος Εκ., προεδόμενος VL'.

BOOK LII

had gone through many bitter experiences, conceived a desire for liberty; and when we had secured it, we advanced to our present proad eminence, strong in no advantages save those that come from democracy. It was on the strength of these that the senate deliberated, the people ratified, the soldiers in the ranks were filled with zeal and their commanders with ambition. None of these things could happen under a tyranny. At any rate the ancient Romans came to feel so great a hatred of tyranny for these reasons that they even laid that form of government under a curse.

"And apart from these considerations, if one is to speak about matters which touch your personal interests, how could you endure to administer affairs so manifold, not only by day but also by night? How could you hold out if your health should fail? What human blessings could you enjoy, and how could you be happy if deprived of them? In what could you take genuine pleasure, and when would you be free from the keenest pain? For it is quite inevitable that a man who holds an office of this kind should have many anxieties, be subject to many fears, and have very little enjoyment of what is most pleasant, but should always and everywhere both see and hear, do and suffer, only that which is disagreeable. That, I imagine, is the reason why, in certain instances, among both Greeks and barbarians, men have refused to accept the office of king when it was offered to them.

"Therefore I would have you foresee all these disadvantages and take counsel before you become involved in them. For it is disgraceful, or rather it is quite impossible, for a man to withdraw when

99

άναδύναι. μηδέ σε έξαπατήση μήτε το αέγεθος της έξουσίας μήθ' ή περιουσία των κτημάτων, μή το στίφος των σωματοφυλάκων, μη ο Ι όγλος 4 των θεραπευόντων, οί τε γάρ πολύ δυνάμενοι πολλά πράγματα έχουσι, καὶ οί συχνά κεκτημένοι συχνά αναλίσκειν αναγκάζονται, τά τε πλήθη των δορυφόρων διά τὰ πλήθη των έπι-Βουλευόντων άθροίζεται, και οι κολακεύοντες έπιτρίψειαν αν τινα μαλλον ή σώσειαν. ωσθ ένεκα μέν τούτων οὐδ' αν είς εὐ φρονών αὐταρ-11 γήσαι επιθυμήσειεν εί δ' ότι και πλουτίζειν και σώζειν τινάς άλλα τε πολλά και άγαθά δράν οι τοιούτοι δύνανται, καὶ νη Δία καὶ ὑβρίζειν σφίσι και κακώς ποιείν δη αν έθελήσωσιν έξεστιν, άξιαν τις διά ταύτα σπουδής την τυραννίδα είναι νομί-2 ζει, του παντός άμαρτάνει. το μέν γάρ άσελγαίνειν καὶ κακόν τι ποιείν ούθ' ώς αίσχρα ούθ' ώς σφαλερά και μεμισημένα και πρός θεών και πρός άνθρώπων έστί, δέομαί σοι λέγειν ούτε γαρ άλλως τοιούτος εί, ούτ' άν διά ταύτα μοναρχήσαι έλοιο.

άλλ' όσα καὶ οἱ πάνυ ἄριστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἀναγκάζονται. τὸ δ' ἔτερον, τό τινα ἀφθόνως εὐεργετεῖν ἔχειν, ἀξιοσπούδαστον μέν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἰδιώτη γιγνόμενον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σεμνὸν καὶ εὐκλεὲς καὶ ἀσφαλές ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς μοναρχίαις πρώτον μὲν οὐκ ἀντ-

προήρημαί τε έγω νύν οὐ πάνθ' όσα ἄν τις κακώς τὸ πράγμα μεταχειριζόμενος έξεργάσαιτο εἰπεῖν,

a supplied by Bk.

² derrichten ... obneme Dind., derryidater ... oboater VL.

once he has entered upon the position. And do see as not be deceived, either, by the greatness of its authority or the abundance of its possessions, or by its array of bodyguards, or by its throng of courtiers. For men who have much power have many troubles; those who have large possessions are obliged to spend largely; the multitude of bodyguards is gathered merely because of the multitude of conspirators; and as for the flatterers, they would be more likely to destroy you than to save you. Consequently, in view of these considerations, no sensible man would desire to become supreme ruler. But it the thought that men in such a station are able to enrich others, to save their lives, and to confer many other benefits upon them-yes, by heaven, and even to insult them and to do harm to whomsoever they please-leads anyone to think that tyranny is worth striving for, he is utterly mistaken. I need not, indeed, tell you that the life of wantonness and evildoing is disgraceful or that it is fraught with peril and is hated of both gods and men; for in any event you are not inclined to such things, and you would not be led by these considerations to choose to be sole ruler. And, besides, I have chosen to speak now, not of all the mischief one might work who managed the task badly, but only of what even those who make the very best use of the position are obliged both to do and to suffer. But as to the other consideration,-that thus one is in a position to bestow favours in profusion,-this is indeed a privilege worth striving for; yet however noble, august, glorious, and safe it is when enjoyed by a private citizen, in a king's position it does not, in the first place, counterbalance the other considerations

αξιον των άλλων των άτοπωτέρων, ώστε τινά διά τούτο και έκείνα ι έλέσθαι, άλλως τε καί μέλλοντα την μέν έκ τούτου άπολαυσιν έτέροις 12 δώσειν την δὲ έξ έκείνων άηδίαν αὐτον έξειν, έπειτα δ' ούδ' άπλούν, ώς τις οίεται. ούτε γάρ. αν πασι τοις δεομένοις τινός έπαρκέσειέ τις. οί μέν γάρ άξιοῦντές τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν πάντες ώς είπειν είσιν ἄνθρωποι, κάν μηδεμία 2 εύθυς εύεργεσία αὐτοῖς ὀφείληται πῶς γάρ τις φύσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀρέσκει, κάγαθόν τε έπαυρέσθαι παρά τοῦ δοῦναι δυναμένου βούλεται α δε ενδέχεται αυτοίς δίδοσθαι (τιμάς τε και άρχας λέγω, και έστιν ότε και χρήματα) πάνυ αν ευαρίθμητα ώς προς τοσούτο πλήθος εύρεθείη. τούτου τε ούτως έχουτος έχθος άν αύτω παρά των διαμαρτανώντων ων χρήζουσε μάλλον ή φιλία παρά των τυγχανόντων υπάρ-3 ξειεν. οί μεν γάρ, ως και οφειλόμενον τι λαμβάνοντες, ούτ άλλως μεγάλην οίονται δείν τω διδόντι αὐτό - χώριν έχειν ἄτε μηδέν παρά δόξαν εύρισκόμενοι, και προσέτι και δκιούσι τούτο ποιείν, ίνα μη και αναξίους έν τούτω σφάς τοῦ 4 καλώς πάσχειν αποφήνωσιν 3 οι δε ών ελπίζουσεν άτυχούντες λυπούνται κατ' αμφότερα. τούτο μέν ώς οίκείου τινός στερισκόμενοι (πάντες

γάρ έχειν ήδη νομίζουσιν ων άν έπιθυμήσωσι),

τούτο δε ώς καὶ αὐτοὶ εαυτών ἀδικίαν τινὰ
1 διὰ τούτο καὶ ἀκείτα Βκ., δι ἀκείτα καὶ τούτο VL

aird L', abra V.

² drophragie St., droparatoir VL. deroi U. fauroi V.

of a less agreeable nature, so that a man should be ac. so induced for the sake of gaining this advantage to accept those disadvantages also, especially when the sovereign is bound to bestow upon others the benefit to be derived from this advantage and to have for bimself alone the unpleasantness that results from the disadvantages. In the second place, this advantage is not without complications, as people think; for a ruler cannot possibly satisfy all who ask for favours. Those, namely, who think they ought to receive some gift from the sovereign are practically all mankind, even though no favour is due to them at the moment; for every one naturally thinks well of himself and wishes to enjoy some benefit at the hands of him who is able to bestow it. But the benefits which can be given them,-I mean titles and offices and sometimes money,-will be found very easy to count when compared with the vast number of the applicants. This being so, greater hostility will inevitably be felt toward the monarch by those who fail to get what they want, than friendliness by those who obtain their desires. For the latter take what they receive as due them and think there is no particular reason for being grateful to the giver, since they are getting no more than they expected: besides, they actually shrink from showing gratitude for fear they may thereby give evidence of their being unworthy of the kindness done them. The others, when they are disappointed in their hopes, are aggrieved for two reasons: in the first place, they feel that they are being robbed of what belongs to them, for invariably men think they already possess whatever they set their hearts upon; and, in the second place, they feel that, if they are

καταγιγνώσκοντες, αν ραδίως έπι τῷ μὴ τυχεῖν δ ών αν προσδοκήσωσι φέρωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀρθῶς διδούς τὰ τοιαῦτα τό τε κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστου δῆλον ὅτι πρὸ πάντων προσκοπεῖ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τιμὰ τοὺς δὲ παρορά, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης τοῦς μὲν φρόνημα τοῖς δ' ἀγανάκτησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συνειὅτος σφῶν προσγίγνεσθαι. ὡς ἄν γέ τις τοῦτ' εὐλαβούμενος ἀνωμάλως αὐτὰ διανέμειν ἐθελήση,

6 τὸ σύμπαν ὁμαρτήσεται· οἴ τε γὰρ πονηροὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον τιμώμενοι χείρους ἄν, ῆτοι καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ὡς ἀγαθοὶ ἡ πάντως γε θεραπεύεσθαι ὡς φοβεροὶ δοκοῦντες, γίγνοιντο, καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ μηδὲν πλεῖον αὐτῶν εὐρισκόμενοι, ἀλλὶ ἐξ ἴσον σφίσιν ἀγόμενοι, μᾶλλον ἄν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἰσομοιρίας λυποῦντο ἡ τῷ ¹ καὶ αὐτοί τινος ἀξιοῦ-

τοθαι χαίροιεν, κάκ τούτου τήν τε έπιτήδευσιν των κρειττύνων έφεν αν και τήν ζήλωσιν των χειρόνων μετέρχοιντο, και ούτω καν εξ αυτών των τιμών ούθ οι διδύντες αυτάς αγαθόν τι καρποίντο και οι λαμβάνοντες κακίους γίγνοιντο. ωστε σοι τούτο, ο μάλιστα αν τισιν έν ταις μοναρχίαις άρέσειε, δυσμεταχειριστότατον συμβήναι.

13 "Ταθτά τε οθυ καὶ τάλλα à μικρῷ πρόσθεν

τφ supplied by Pflagk.

xuipore B. Steph., xuipor VL.

not indiguant at their failure to obtain whatever they ac. as expect to get, they are actually acknowledging some shortcoming on their own part. The reason for all this is, of course, that the ruler who bestows such gifts in the right way obviously makes it his first business to weigh well the merits of each person, and thus he honours some and passes others by, with the result that, in consequence of his decision, those who are honoured have a further reason for elation, while those who are passed by feel a new resentment, each class being moved by their own consciousness of their respective merits. If, however, a ruler tries to avoid this result and decides to award these honours capriciously, he will fail utterly. For the base, finding themselves honoured contrary to their deserts, would become worse, concluding that they were either being actually commended as good or at any rate were being courted as formidable; and the upright. seeing that they were securing no greater consideration than the base but were being regarded as being merely on an equality with them, would be more vexed at being reduced to the level of the others than pleased at being thought worthy of some honour themselves, and consequently would abandon their cultivation of the higher principles of conduct and become zealous in the pursuit of the baser. And thus the result even of the distribution of honours would be this: those who bestowed them would reap no benefit from them and those who received them would become demoralized. Hence this advantage, which some would find the most attractive in monarchies, proves in your case a most difficult problem to deal with.

"Reflecting upon these considerations and the

εἶπον ἐνθυμηθεἰς φρόνησον εως εξεστί σοι, καὶ ἀπόδος τῷ δήμω καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ἀν μεν γὰρ ἤδη τε καὶ ἐκὼν αὐτὸ ποιήσης, ἐνδοξάτατος τε ἄμα ἀνθρώπων ἔση καὶ ἀσφαλέστατος ἀν δ' ἀναμείνης βίαν τινά σοι προσαχθήναι, τάχ' ἄν τι 2 δεινὸν μετὰ κακοδοξίας πάθοις. τεκμήριον δέ, Μάριος μὲν καὶ Σύλλας καὶ Μέτελλος, καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενοι οὐτ' ἡθέλησαν δυναστεῦσαι οὐτ' ἔπαθον παρὰ τοῦτο δεινὸν οὐδέν Κίννας δὲ δὴ καὶ Στράβων, ὅ τε Μάριος ὁ ἔτερος καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος, ὅ τε Πομπήιος αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦτα, τῆς δυναστείας ἐπι- 3 θυμήσαντες κακῶς ἀπώλοντο. δυσχερὲς γάρ

θυμησαυτες κακώς άπώλουτο. δυσχερές γάρ έστι την πόλιν ταύτην, τοσούτοις τε έτεσι δεδημοκρατημένην καὶ τοσούτων άνθρώπων άρχουσαν, δουλεῦσαί τινι έθελησαι. καὶ ἀκούεις μὲν ὅτι τὰν Κάμιλλον ὑπερώρισαν, ἐπειδη λευκοῖς ὕπποις

ες τὰ ἐπινίκια ἐχρήσατο, ἀκούεις δὲ ὅτι τὸν Σκιπίωνα κατέλυσαν, ἐπειδή τινα πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσαν, μέμνησαι δὲ ὅπως τῷ πατρί σου προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι τινὰ ὑποψίαν ἐς αὐτὸν μοναρχίας ἔσχον. καίτοι τούτων μὲν ἀμείνους ἄνδρες οὐδένες ἄλλοι γεγόνασιν.

Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπλῶς οῦτω συμβουλεύω σοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφεῖναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ δημοσίῳ προπρᾶξαι καὶ δύγμασι καὶ νόμοις ὰ προσήκει κατακλεῖσαι, καθάπερ που καὶ ὁ Σύλλαι ἐποίησε· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινα αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα others which I mentioned a little while ago, be ac so prudent while you may and duly place in the hands of the people the army, the provinces, the offices, and the public funds. If you do it at once and voluntarily, you will be the most famous of men and the most secure; but if you wait for some compulsion to be brought to bear upon you, you will very likely suffer some disaster and gain infamy besides. Consider the testimony of history: Marius and Sulla and Metellus, and Pompey at first, when they got control of affairs, not only refused to assume sovereign power but also escaped disaster thereby; whereas Cinna and Strabo,1 the younger Marius and Sertorius, and Pompey himself at a later time, conceived a desire for sovereign power and perished miserably. For it is a difficult matter to induce this city, which has enjoyed a democratic government for so many years and holds empire over so many people, to consent to become a slave to any one. You have heard how the people banished Camillus just because he used white horses for his triumph; you have heard how they deposed Scipio from power, first condemning him for some act of arrogance; and you remember how they proceeded against your father just because they conceived a suspicion that he desired to be sole ruler. Yet there have never been any better men than these.

"Nevertheless, I do not advise you merely to relinquish the sovereignty, but first to take all the measures which the public interest demands and by decrees and laws to settle definitively all important business, just as Sulla did, you recall; for even if some of his ordinances were subsequently overthrown,

¹ Cf. xliv, 28, 1.

άνετράπη, άλλὰ τά γε πλείω καὶ μείζω διαμένει.
6 καὶ μὴ εἴπης ὅτι καὶ ὡς στασιάσουσὶ τινες, ἴνα μὴ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐθις εἴπω ὅτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ ἀν ἀνάσχοιντο μοναρχούμενοι. ὡς εἴγε πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνδέχεταί τισι συνενεχθῆναι προσκοποίμεθα, ἀλογώτατα ἀν τὰς διχοστασίας τὰς ἔκ τῆς ὅημοκρατίας συμβαινούσας φοβηθείημεν ἀν μᾶλλον ἡ τὰς τυραννίδας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας 7 ἐκφυομένας, περὶ ὧν τῆς δεινότητος οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησά τι εἰπείν οὐ γὰρ δὴ ¹ καὶ καταδραμεῖν ἄλλως εὐκατηγόρητον οὕτω πρᾶγμα ἡθέλησα, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαί σοι τοῦθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τῆ φύσει ώστε μηδὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἄνδρας ² . . ."

14 "(... οὕτε πείσαί τι ραδίως ὑπὸ παρρησίας τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοίους δύνανται) κἀν ταῖς πράξεσαν ἄτε μὴ ὁμογνωμονούντων σφῶν κατορθοῦσιν. ὥστε εἴ τι κήδη τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπὲρ ῆς τοσούτους πολέμους πεπολέμηκας, ὑπὲρ ῆς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡδέως ἄν ἐπιδοίης, μεταρρύθμισον αὐτὴν καὶ κατακόσμησον 2 πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον. τὸ γὰρ ἐξεῖναί τισι

3 8h R. Steph., 8vi VL'.

³ L'indicates a lacuna at this point, V does not. In their common archetype L one folio was lost, containing some sixty lines. Zonarus' epitome at this point is as follows: 5 δι Μακάναι τούσωντίου πυνεβούλευση, ἄπαχ είπῶν ἡδη τὰν αριαμχίαν έπὶ πολὰ διακάναι αὐτὰν καὶ ἀταγκαΐον είναι δυούν θέτερον, ἡ μεῖκαι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ ἀκολέσδαι ταῦτα προέμεταν, κ.τ.λ.

vet the majority of them and the more important as a still remain. And do not say that even then some men will indulge in factional quarrels, and thus require me, on my part, to say once more that the Romans would be much more apt to refuse to submit to the rule of a monarch. For if we should undertake to provide against all possible contingencies, it would be utterly absurd for us to be more afraid of the dissensions which are but incidental to democracy than of the tyrannies which are the natural outgrowth of monarchy. Regarding the terrible nature of such tyrannies I have not so much as attempted to say anything; for it has not been my wish idly to inveigh against a thing that so readily admits of condemnation, but rather to show you that monarchy is so constituted by nature that not even the men of high character. . "1

"(... nor can they easily convince by frank argument those who are not in a like situation) and they succeed in their enterprises, because their subjects are not in accord with one another. Hence, if you feel any concern at all for your country, for which you have fought so many wars and would so gladly give even your life, reorganize it and regulate it in the direction of greater moderation. For while

¹ The conclusion of Agrippa's speach is missing in our MSS., as is also the earlier portion of that of Macconas together with the introduction to it. Zonaras brief resume (down through chap. 17) is as follows: "But Macconas advised the contrary course, declaring that he (Caesar) had already for a long time been directing the monarchy, and that he must inevitably do one of two things—either remain in the same position or abandon his present course and periah."

πάνθ' άπλώς όσα! βούλονται και ποιείν και λέγειν, αν μεν έπι των ευ φρονούντων εξετάζης, εὐδαιμονίας ἄπασιν αἴτιον γίγνεται, αν δὲ ἐπὶ των άνοήτων, συμφοράς και διά τούτο ο μέν τοίς τοιούτοις την έξουσίαν διδούς παιδί δή τινι καὶ μαινομένω ξίφος ορέγει, ο δ' έκείνοις τά τε άλλα και αυτούς τούτους και μη βουλομένους σώζει. 3 διόπερ καὶ σὲ άξιῶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπρεπείας τῶν όνομάτων ἀποβλέψαντα ἀπατηθήναι, άλλά τὰ γυγνόμενα έξ αὐτῶν προσκοπήσαντα τήν τε θρασύτητα τοῦ όμίλου παῦσαι καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν τών κοινών έαυτφ τε και τοις άλλοις τοις άρίστοις προσθείναι, ίνα βουλεύωσι 2 μεν οί φρονιμώτατοι, άρχωσι δὲ οἱ στρατηγικώτατοι, στρατεύωνται δὲ καὶ μισθοφορώσιν οί τε ίσχυρότατοι καὶ οί πενέ-4 στατοι, ούτω γάρ τά τε ἐπιβάλλουτά σφισιν έκαστοι προθύμως ποιούντες, και τὰς ώφελίας άλληλοις έτοιμως άντιδιδόντες, ούτε των ελαττωμάτων, έν οίς καταδέουσί τινων, έπαισθήσονται, και την δημοκρατίαν την άληθη την τε έλευθερίαν δ την ἀσφαλή κτήσονται έκείνη μέν γαρ ή του όχλου έλευθερία τοῦ τε βελτίστου δουλεία πικροτάτη γίγνεται καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοϊν ὅλεθρον φέρει, αύτη δὲ τό τε σῶφρον πανταχοῦ προτιμῶσα καὶ τὸ ίσον άπασι κατά την άξίαν απονέμουσα πάντας όμοίως εὐδαίμονας τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτη ποιεί.

¹ άπλως δου Pflugh, δου άπλως VL'.
2 Βουλεύωσε Β. Steph., Βουλεύουσε VL'.

the privilege of doing and saying precisely what one seems pleases becomes, in the case of sensible persons, if you examine the matter, a cause of the highest happiness to them all, yet in the case of the foolish it becomes a cause of disaster. For this reason he who offers this privilege to the foolish is virtually putting a sword in the hands of a child or a madman; but he who offers it to the prudent is not only preserving all their other privileges but is also saving these men themselves even in spite of themselves. Therefore I ask you not to fix your gaze upon the specious terms applied to these things and thus be deceived, but to weigh carefully the results which come from the things themselves and then put an end to the insolence of the populace and place the management of public affairs in the hands of yourself and the other best citizens, to the end that the business of deliberation may be performed by the most prudent and that of ruling by those best fitted for command, while the work of serving in the army for pay is left to those who are strongest physically and most needy. In this way each class of citizens will zealously discharge the duties which devolve upon them and will readily render to one another such services as are due, and will thus be unaware of their inferiority when one class is at a disadvantage as compared with another, and all will gain the true democracy and the freedom which does not fail. For the boasted freedom of the mob proves in experience to be the bitterest servitude of the best element to the other and brings upon both a common destruction; whereas this freedom of which I speak everywhere prefers for honour the men of prudence, awarding at the same time equality to all according to their deserts, and thus gives happiness impartially to all who enjoy this liberty.

111

15 " Μή γάρ τοι οίηθης ότι τυραννήσαί σοι, τόν τε δήμον καὶ τὴν βουλὴν δουλωσαμένω, παραινώ. τούτο μέν γάρ ούτ' άν έγω ποτε είπειν ούτ' άν σύ πράξαι τολμήσειας έκείνα δὲ δὴ καὶ καλά καὶ γρήσιμα και σοί και τη πόλει γένοιτο αν, τό τε πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτόν σε μετὰ τῶν άρίστων άνδρών νομοθετείν, μηδενός τών πολλών μήτ' αντιλέγοντος αύτοις μήτ' εναντιουμένου, 2 καὶ τὸ τοὺς πολέμους πρὸς τὰ ὑμέτερα βουλήματα διοικείσθαι, πάντων αὐτίκα τών άλλων τὸ κελευόμενον ποιούντων, τό τε τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων αίρέσεις έφ' ύμιν είναι, και τὸ τὰς τιμὰς τάς τε τιμωρίας ύμας όρίζειν, ίνα καὶ νόμος εὐθὸς ή παν ο τι αν βουλευσαμένω σοι μετά των ομοτίμων 3 άρέση, και οι πολέμιοι κρύφα και κατά καιρου πολεμώνται, οί τε τι έγχειριζόμενοι απ' άρετης άλλα μη κλήρω και σπουδαργία αποδεικνύωνται. και οι μέν άγαθοι άνευ φθόνου τιμώνται, οι δέ 4 κακοί άνευ συστάσεως κολάζωνται, ούτω γάρ άν μάλιστα τά τε πραττόμενα όρθως διοικηθείη, μήτε ές τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφερόμενα μήτε έν τῷ φανερώ βουλευόμενα μήτε τοίς * παρακελευστοίς έπιτρεπόμενα μήτε έκ φιλοτιμίας κινδυνευόμενα. καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἡδέως ἀπολαύσαιμεν, μήτε πολέμους επικινδύνους μήτε

i μήτ' Bk., μηδί VL'.
i τοῖε Xyl., ἐν τοῖε VL'.

BOOK LII

"For I would not have you think that I am advising ac so you to enslave the people and the senate and then set up a tyranny. This is a thing I should never dare suggest to you nor would you bring yourself to do it. The other course, however, would be honourable and expedient both for you and for the citythat you should yourself, in consultation with the best men, enact all the appropriate laws, without the possibility of any opposition or remonstrance to these laws on the part of any one from the masses 1; that you and your counsellors should conduct the wars according to your own wishes, all other citizens rendering instant obedience to your commands; that the choice of the officials should rest with you and your advisers; and that you and they should also determine the honours and the punishments. The advantage of all this would be that whatever pleased you in consultation with your peers would immediately become law; that our wars against our enemies would be waged with secrecy and at the opportune time; that those to whom any task was entrusted would be appointed because of their merit and not as the result of the lot or rivalry for other; that the good would be honoured without arousing jenlousy and the bad punished without causing rebellion. Thus whatever business was done would be most likely to be managed in the right way, instead of being referred to the popular assembly, or deliberated upon openly, or entrusted to partisan delegates, or exposed to the danger of ambitious rivalry; and we should be happy in the enjoyment of the blessings which are vouchsafed to us, instead of being embroiled in hazardous wars abroad or in

1

¹ Probably a reference to the tribunes.

ποτάσεις ἀνοσίους ποιούμενοι. Ταύτα γὰρ πῶσα μἐν δημοκρατία ἔχει οἱ γὰρ δυνατώτεροι, τῶν τε πρωτείων ² ὀρεγόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους μισθούμενοι, πάντα ἄνω καὶ κάτω φύρουσι πλείστα δὲ δὴ παρ ἡμῖν γέγονε, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ οὕ χρόνος καὶ πολεμοῦμεν καὶ στασιάζομεν. αἰτιον δὲ τό τε πλήθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνοὶ τε γὰρ παντοδαποὶ καὶ τὰ γὲνη καὶ τὰς φύσεις ὅντες καὶ ποικίλας καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τοσούτον προῆκται ὥστε καὶ πάνυ δυσχερῶς ἀν διοικηθήναι.

16 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα ἀληθη λέγω, μαρτυρεί τὰ γεγονότα. τέως μὲν γὰρ οὕτε πολλοὶ ἡμεν οὕτε μεγάλω τινὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων διεφέρομεν, καλῶς τε ἐπολιτευόμεθα καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν Ἱταλίαν

2 κατεστρεψάμεθα ἀφ΄ οὐ δὲ ἔξω αὐτῆς ἐξήχθημεν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἤπείρων καὶ τῶν νήσων ἐπεραιώθημεν, καὶ πῶσαν μὲν τὴν θάλασσαν πῶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡμῶν ἐνεπλήσαμεν, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ μετεσχήκαμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἰκοι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατὰ συστάσεις ἐστασιάσαμεν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ νόσημα τοῦτο 3 πρωγγάγομεν, καὶ διὰ ταῦθ΄ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ

όλκας μεγάλη και πλήρης όχλου παντοδαπού χωρίς κυβερνήτου, πολλάς ήδη γενεάς έν κλύδωνι πολλώ φερομένη σαλεύει τε και άττει δεύρο κάκεισε, καθάπερ άνερμάτιστος ούσα. μήτ ούν χειμαζομένην έτ αὐτην περάδης, όρας γάρ ώς

ανοσίων Βκ., άνωσίαι VL. - πρωτείων Rk., πρώτων VI.

BOOK LH

unholy civil strife. For these are the cvils found in the covery democracy,—the more powerful men, namely, in reaching out after the primacy and hiring the weaker, turn everything upside down,—but they have been most frequent in our country, and there is no other way to put a stop to them than the way I propose. And the evidence is, that we have now for a long time been engaged in wars and civil strife. The cause is the multitude of our population and the magnitude of the business of our government; for the population embraces men of every kind, in respect both to race and to endowment, and both their tempers and their desires are manifold; and the business of the state has become so vast that it can be administered only with the greatest

difficulty.

"Witness to the truth of my words is borne by our past. For while we were but few in number and differed in no important respect from our neighbours, we got along well with our government and subjugated almost all Italy; but ever since we were led outside the peninsula and crossed over to many continents and many islands, filling the whole sea and the whole earth with our name and power, nothing good has been our lot. At first it was only at home and within our walls that we broke up into factions and quarrelled, but afterwards we even carried this plague out into the legions. Therefore our city, like a great merchantman manned with a crew of every race and lacking a pilot, has now for many generations been rolling and plunging as it has drifted this way and that in a heavy sea, a ship as it were without ballast. Do not, then, allow her to be longer exposed to the tempest; for you see that she

ύπέραντλός έστι, μήτε περί έρμα πεμιρραγήναι έάσης, σαθρά γάρ έστι καὶ οὐδένα έτι χρόνον ἀντισχεῖν δυνήσεται ἀλλ ἐπειδήπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐλεήσαντες αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπιγνώμονά σε καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτῆς ἐπέστησαν, μὴ προδῷς τὴν πατρίδα, ἴν ὥσπερ νῦν διὰ σὲ μικρὸν ἀναπέπνευκεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν αἰῶνα μετ ἀσφαλείας διαγάγη.

17 "" Ότι μέν ουν όρθως σοι παραινώ, μοναρχείσθαι τον δήμου άξιων, πάλαι σε ήγουμαι πεπείσθαι. τούτου δὲ δὰ ούτως έγοντος καὶ έτοίμως καὶ προθύμως την προστασίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνάδεξαι, μᾶλλον δέ μη προή. οὐδέ γαρ οὐδ' ὑπέρ τοῦ λαβείν τι βουλευόμεθα, άλλ' ύπερ του μη άπολέσαι και 2 προσέτι και κινδυνεύσαι. τίς γάρ σου φείσεται. άν τε ές τον δήμον τα πράγματ άνώσης, άν τε! και έτέρω τινί έπιτρέψης, παμπόλλων μέν όντων των ύπο σου λελυπημένων, πάντων δ' ώς είπειν της μοναργίας άντιποιησομένων, ών ούδεις ούτε μη αμύνασθαί σε έφ οίς πεποίηκας ούτ αντί. 3 παλου υπολιπέσθαι έθελήσει. τεκμήριου δέ ότι και ο Πομπήιος έκστας της δυναστείας και κατε-Φρονήθη και έπεβουλεύθη, κάκ τούτου μηκέτ αύτην άναλαβείν δυνηθείς έφθάρη, και ό Καίσαρ ό πατήρ ό σός τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσας προσαπώλετο, πάντως δ' άν και ό Μάριος και ό Σύλλας όμοια αυτοίς έπεπουθεσαν, εί μη προετε-

^{*} πράγματ' ἀνώση: ἄν το Βk., πράγματα ἐε ἦσαν το VL'.
* ποιήσαι V, ποιήσαι δθελήσαι L'.

is waterlogged. And do not let her be pounded to pieces upon a reef; for her timbers are rotten and she will not be able to hold out much longer. But since the gods have taken pity on her and have set you over her as her arbiter and overseer, prove not false to her, to the end that, even as now she has revived a little by your aid, so she may survive in

safety for the ages to come.

" Now I think you have long since been convinced that I am right in urging you to give the people a monarchical government; if this is the case, accept the leadership over them readily and with enthusiasm-or rather do not throw it away. For the question we are deliberating upon is not whether we shall take something, but whether we shall decide not to lose it and by so doing incur danger into the bargain. Who, indeed, will spare you if you thrust the control of the state into the hands of the people, or even if you entrust it to some other man, seeing that there are great numbers whom you have injured, and that practically all these will lay claim to the sovereignty, and yet no one of them will wish either that you should go unpunished for what you have done or that you should be allowed to survive as his rival? Pompey, for example, once he had given up the supreme power, became the object of scorn and of secret plotting and consequently lost his life when he was unable to regain his power. Caesar also, your father, lost not only his position but also his life for doing precisely what you are proposing to do. And Marius and Sulla would certainly have suffered a like fate had they not died

² Cf. Thucydides vii. 25, a passage which Die seems to be imitating.

- 4 θνήκεσαν. καίτοι τον Σύλλαν φασί τινες αὐτό τοῦτο φοβηθέντα φθηναι καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἀναχρήσασθαι· συχνὰ γοῦν τῶν νομοθετηθέντων ὑπ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἔτ' αὐτοῦ λύεσθαι ῆρξατο. ὧατε καὶ σὐ πολλοὺς μὲν Λεπίδους πολλοὺς δὲ Σερτωρίους Βρούτους Κασσίους γενήσεσθαί σοι προσδόκα.
- 18 "Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἰδὼν καὶ τάλλα πάντα λογισάμενος, μὴ προῆ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα,
 ἵναὶ μὴ δόξης τισὶν ἐθελούσιος τῆς ἀρχῆς
 ἐφεῖσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἄν καὶ τοῦτό τις
 ὑποπτεύση, οῦτ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου τὸ
 ἐπιθύμημά ἐστι, καὶ καλὸς ὁ κινδυνος αὐτοῦν
 ἔπειτα ὁὲ τίς οὖκ οἴδε ταλὸς ὁ κην ὑψ ἡς ἐς τὰ

 2 πούνιστα τοῦτα πορίνθηνος ἔπετα ἐπεντα ἐπεντα
 - 2 πράγματα ταῦτα προήχθης; ὥστε εἶπερ² τε αἰτίαμα αὐτῆς ἐστι, τοῖς τοῦ πατρός σου σφαγεῦσι δικαιότατα ἄν τις αὐτὸ ἐγκαλέσειεν εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μήτ ἀδίκως μήτ οἰκτρῶς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, οὕτ ἀν τὰ ὅπλα ἀντήρω, οὕτ ἀν τὰ στρατεύματα συνελέξω, οὕτ ἀν² ᾿Αντωνίω καὶ Λεπίδω συνέθου, οὕτ ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἡμύνω.
 - 3 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως πάντα ταῦτ ἐποίησας, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῦ εἰ δ οῦν τι καὶ πεπλημμέληται, ἀλλ' οὕτι καὶ μεταθέσθαι ἔτ ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμεθα. ὡστε καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς πόλεως πεισθῶμεν τῆ τύχη τῆν μοναρχίαν σοι
 - διδούση. καὶ χάριν γε μεγάλην αὐτῆ ἔχωμεν,
 δτι μὴ μόνον τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀπέλυσεν

¹ fra L', fra 84 V.

³ Gove steep R Steph., Sorrey VL.

a be supplied by St. ofrs Dind., as Tos VL.

ariduser Bk., drindnoer VI.

first. And yet some say that Sulla, fearing this very a.c. 20 fate, forestalled it by making away with himself; at any rate, much of his legislation began to be undone while he was yet alive. Therefore you also must expect that there will be many a man who will prove a Lepidus to you and many a man who will prove

a Sertorius, a Brutus, or a Cassius.

" Looking, then, at these facts and reflecting upon all the other considerations involved, do not abandon yourself and your country merely in order to avoid giving the impression to some that you deliberately sought the office. For, in the first place, even if men do suspect this, the ambition is not inconsistent with human nature and the risk involved is a noble one. Again, what man is there who does not know the circumstances which constrained you to assume your present position? Hence, if there be any fault to find with these compelling circumstances, one might with entire justice lay it upon your father's murderers. For if they had not slain him in so unjust and pitiable a fashion, you would not have taken up arms, would not have gathered your legions, would not have made your compact with Antony and Lepidus, and would not have had to defend yourself against these men themselves. That you were right, however, and were justified in doing all this, no one is unaware. Therefore, even if some slight error has been committed, yet we cannot at this time with safety undo anything that has been done. Therefore, for our own sake and for that of the state let us obey Fortune, who offers you the sole rulership. And let us he very grateful to her that she has not only freed us from our domestic troubles, but has also placed in

This tradition is found here only.

ήμας, άλλα και την κατάστασιν της πολιτείας έπι σοι πεποίηται, εν επιμεληθείς αυτής ώσπερ προσήκει, δείξης άπασιν άνθρώποις ότι εκείνα μεν άλλοι και ετάραξαν και εκακούργησαν, συ δε

δη χρηστός εί.

5 "Καὶ μή μοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβηθῆς. ὅσφ τε γὰρ πλείων ὑπάρχει, τόσφ πλείω καὶ τὰ σώζοντα έχει, καὶ μακρφ τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι βάόν ἐστι πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ τάλλότρια προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων δεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα σώσαι βραχεῖα φροντὶς 6 ἀρκεῖ, ἀρ μένται καλὶ δίσαι βραχεῖα φροντὶς

διάρκει. μη μέντοι μηδε δείσης ότι οὐχὶ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα εν αὐτῆ βιώση καὶ πάντων τῶν εν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσεις, ἄν γε ἐθελήσης αὐτὴν ὡς παραινέσω σοι διοικῆσαι. καὶ με μη νομίσης ἀπαρτᾶν² ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ὑποθέσεως τον λόγον, ἀν ἐπὶ πλείδν σοι περὶ αὐτῆς δια-

7 λεχθώ οὐ γάρ που καὶ ὑπ ἀδολεσχίας τινὸς ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιήσω, ἀλλ ἴνα ἀκριβώς καταμάθης ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν καὶ ῥάδιου τῷ γε ἔμφρονι

το και καλώς και άκινδύνως άρξαι έστί.

19 "Φημὶ τοίνυν χρήναί σε κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς τὸ βουλευτικὸν πῶν καὶ ψυλοκρινήσαι καὶ διαλέξαι, ἐπειδή τινες οὐκ ἐπιτήδειοι διὰ τὰς στάσεις βεβουλεύκασι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρετήν τινα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας κατασχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαλεῖψαι.
2 μη μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινά ἀγαθόν γε ἄνδρα

2 μή μέντοι καὶ διὰ πενίαν τινὰ ἀγαθόν γε ἄνδρα ὅντα ἀπαλλάξης, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα αὐτῶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δός. ἀντὶ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων τούς τε γενναιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τούς τε πλου-

¹ Tailor V. Tailor I.. 2 drapter L', drapter V. 4 polospirifori L', drapter V.

your hands the organisation of the state, to the end and that you, by bestowing due care upon it, may prove to all mankind that those troubles were stirred up and that mischief wrought by other men, whereas

you are an upright man.

" And do not, I beg you, be afraid of the magnitude of the empire. For the greater its extent, the more numerous are the salutary elements it possesses; also, to guard anything is far easier than to acquire it. Toils and dangers are needed to win over what belongs to others, but a little care suffices to retain what is already yours. Moreover, you need not be afraid, either, that you will not live quite safely in that office and enjoy all the blessings which men know, provided that you will consent to administer it as I shall advise you. And do not think that I am shifting the discussion from the subject in hand if I speak to you at considerable length about the office. For of course my purpose in doing this will be, not to hear myself talk, but that you may learn by a strict demonstration that it is both possible and easy, for a man of sense at least, to rule well and without danger.

"I maintain, therefore, that you ought first and foremost to choose and select with discrimination the entire senatorial body, masmuch as some who have not been fit have, on account of our dissensions, become senators. Such of them as possess any excellence you ought to retain, but the rest you should erase from the roll. Do not, however, get rid of any good man because of his poverty, but even give him the money he requires. In the place of those who have been dropped introduce the noblest,

σιωτάτους άντεσάγαγε, μή μόνου έκ της Ίταλίας άλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶυ συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπηκόων 3 ἐπιλεξάμενος οὕτω γὰρ σύ τε πολλοῖς συνεργοῖς χρήση, καὶ τοὺς κορυφαίους ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιήση, καὶ οὕτε ἐκεῖνα νεοχμώσει τι μηδένα ἐλλόγιμον προστάτην ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ πρωτεύοντες παρ` αὐτοῖς φιλήσουσί σε ἄτε καὶ κοινωνοί σοι τῆς ἀργῆς γεγονότες.

4 "Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων ποἰησον. τοὺς γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐκασταχόθι καὶ γένει καὶ ἀρετῆ καὶ πλούτῳ φερομένους ἐς τὴν ἱππάδα κατάλεξον, τοσούτους ἐκατέρους ἀντεγγράψας ὅσοι ποτ ἀν ἀρέσωσί σε, μηδέν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν ἀκριβολογούμενος: ὅσῳ γὰρ ἀν πλείους εὐδόκιμοι ἄνδρες συνῶσί σοι, τοσούτῳ ρῷον αὐτός τε ἐν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀργο-

τε έν δέοντι πάντα διοικήσεις, καὶ τοὺς άρχομένους πείσεις ότι οὕτε ώς δούλοις σφίσιν οὕθ' ώς χείροσί πη ήμῶν οὖσι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς ¹ κοινοῖ, ὅπως ὡς οἰκείαν αὐτὴν σπονδάζωσι, καὶ τοσοῦτὸν νε δέω τοῦθ, ὡς κὸν

β σπουδάζωσι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε δέω τοῦθ ώς οὐκ δρθῶς εἰρημένον ἀναθέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τῆς πολιτείας πῶσί σφισι μεταδοθῆναί φημι δεῖν, ἵνα καὶ ταύτης ἰσομοιροῦντες πιστοὶ σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν ὧσιν, ὥσπερ τινὰ μίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν πολιν οἰκοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὅντως πόλιν τὰ δὲ δὴ σφέτερα ἀγροὺς καὶ κώμας νομίζοντες είναι.

¹ abrois L', abrije V.

the best, and the richest men obtainable, selecting better them not only from Italy but also from the allies and the subject nations. In this way you will have many assistants for yourself and will have in safe keeping the leading men from all the provinces; thus the provinces, having no leaders of established repute, will not begin rebellions, and their prominent men will regard you with affection because they have

been made sharers in your empire.

"Take these same measures in the case of the knights also, by enrolling in the equestrian order such men as hold second place in their several districts as regards birth, excellence and wealth. Register as many new members in both classes as you please, without being over particular on the score of their number. For the more men of repute you have as your associates, the easier you will find it, for your own part, to administer everything in time of need and, so far as your subjects are concerned, the more easily will you persuade them that you are not treating them as slaves or as in any way inferior to us, but that you are sharing with them, not only all the other advantages which we ourselves enjoy, but also the chief magistracy as well, and thus make them as devoted to that office as if it were their own. And so far am I from retracting this last statement as rashly made, that I declare that the citizens ought every one actually to be given a share in the government, in order that, being on an equality with us in this respect also, they may be our faithful allies, living as it were in a single city, namely our own, and considering that this is in very truth a city, whereas their own homes are but the countryside and villages.

" Αλλά περί μέν ' τούτου αθθις άκριβέστερον σκεψόμεθα à χρή πράξαι, ίνα μή καὶ πάντα 20 άθροα αὐτοῖς χαρισώμεθα καταλέγεσθαι δὲ γοὺ ές μέν την ίππάδα όκτωκαιδεκέτεις, έν γαρ ταύτη τή ήλικία μάλιστα ή τε τών σωμάτων αὐτών εὐεξία καὶ ή τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπιτηδειότης διαφαίνεται, ές δε το συνέδριον πεντεκαιεικοσιέτεις πώς γαρ ούκ αίσχρον και σφαλερόν έστι τὰ μέν οίκεια μηδενί πρό ταύτης της ήλικίας έπιτρέπεσθαι, τά δε δημόσια και νεωτέροις τισίν εγγειρίζεσθαι; 2 ταμιεύσαντές τε καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντες ή δημαρχήσαντές στρατηγείτωσαν, τριακοντούται γενόμενοι. ταύτας τε γάρ τὰς άρχὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν ύπάτων μόνας οίκοι, της τε τών πατρίων μνήμης ένεκα καί του μή παντελώς την πολιτείαν μεταλλάττειν δοκείν, αποδεικνύναι σε φημι χρήναι. 3 αύτος μέντοι σὺ πάντας αὐτοὺς αίροῦ, καὶ μήτε έπι τῷ πλήθει ἡ καὶ τῷ δήμφ ἔτι τινὰ αὐτῶν ποιήση, στασιάσουσι γάρ, μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ συνεδρίω, διασπουδάσονται γάρ. μη μέντοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις σφών τὰς άρχαίας τηρήσης, ίνα μη τὰ αυτά αδθις γένηται, άλλα την μέν τιμην φύλαξον, της δ' ίσχύος παράλυσου τοσούτου όσου μήτε του άξιώματός τι αὐτῶν άφαιρήσει καὶ τοῖς νεωτερίσαι ι τι εθελήσουσι μη έπιτρέψει. Εσται δε τούτο, αν

[&]quot; wepi ude L', niv wepl V.

^{*} στρατηγείτωσαν L', στρατηγήτωσαν V. * τοιήση St., τοιήσηι VL'. Ισιτρέψει V, Ισιτρέψη L'.

"But regarding this matter we shall at a later time ... > examine more carefully the question of what measures should be taken to prevent our granting the people every privilege at once. As for the matter of eligibility for office, now, we should put men on the roll of knights when they are eighteen years old, for at that age their physical soundness and their mental fitness can best be discerned; but we should not enrol them in the senate until they are twenty-five years old. For is it not disgraceful, and indeed hazardous, to entrust the public business to men younger than this, when we never commit our private affairs to any one before he has reached this age? After they have served as quaestors and sediles or tribunes, let them be practors when they reach the age of thirty. For it is my opinion that these offices, and that of consul, are the only ones at home which you ought to fill by election, and these merely out of regard for the institutions of our fathers and to avoid the appearance of making a complete change in the constitution. But make all the appointments yourself and do not any longer commit the filling of one or another of these offices either to the plebs or to the people, for they will quarrel over them, or to the senate, for the senators will use them to further their private ambitions. And do not maintain the traditional powers of these offices, either, for fear history may repeat itself, but preserve the honour attaching to them, at the same time abating their influence to such an extent that, although you will be depriving the office of none of its prestige, you will still be giving no opportunity to those who may desire to stir up a rebellion. Now

i.r. to the concilium plebis or to the comitie.

τά τε άλλα και ἐνδήμους αὐτοὺς ἀποφήνης, και μήτε ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς καιρῷ ὅπλα τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσης μήτε εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ χρόνου διελθόντος, ὅσον ἀν αὐτάρκη ἐκάστῷ σφῶν νομίσης εἰναι. οὕτω γὰρ οὕτε τινὲς νεοχμώσουσι, στρατοπέδων κύριοι ἐν τῷ τῶν ὀνομάτων φρονήματι γενόμενοι, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἰδιωτεύσαντες πεπαυθήσονται. 5 καὶ οὕτοι μὲν τάς τε πανηγύρεις, οἴ γε καὶ προσήκοντές σφισιν, ἐπιτελείτωσαν, καὶ τὰς δίκας πάντες ὡς ἔκαστοι, πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν, ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐνδήμου ἀρχῆς χρόνῷ δικαζέτωσαν συναγέσθω μὲν γὰρ δικαστήρια καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππέων, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς ἐκείνους ἀνακείσθω.

21 "Πολίαρχος δὲ δή τις ἔκ τε τῶν προηκόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα προπεπολιτευμένων ἀποδεικνύσθω, οἰχ ἴνα ἀποδημησάντων που 2 τῶν ὑπάτων άρχη, ἀλλ' ἴνα τά τε ἄλλα ἀεὶ τῆς πόλεως προστατῆ, καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἰπον ἀρχόντων ἐφεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους καὶ τὰς τοῦ θανάτον τοῖς τε ἐν τῆ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν ἀν εἴπω, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μέχρι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίων σταδίων οἰκοῦσι κρίνη.

3 "Ετερός τέ τις ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰρείσθω ὅστε τά τε γένη καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τούς τε

I Javaroslav Casanb., Macastar VM.

this will be accomplished if you assign them on ac. 20 appointment chiefly to home affairs and do not permit any of them to have armed forces during their term of office or immediately afterward, but only after the lapse of some time, as much as you think sufficient in each instance. In this way they will never be put in command of legions while still enjoying the prestige of their official titles and thus be led to stir up rebellions, and after they have been private citizens for a time they will be of milder disposition. Let these magistrates conduct such of the festivals as naturally belong to their office, and let them all severally sit as judges in all kinds of eases except homicide during their tenure of office in Rome. Courts should be established, to be sure, with the other senators and knights as members, but final authority should rest with these magistrates.

"As for the prefect of the city, men should be appointed to that office who are leading citizens and have previously passed through the appropriate offices; it should be the prefect's duty, not to govern merely when the consuls are out of town, but in general to be at all times in charge of the affairs of the city, and to decide the cases which come to him from all the other magistrates I have mentioned, whether on appeal or for review, together with those which involve the death penalty; and his jurisdiction should extend, not only to those who live in the city, except such as I shall name, but also to those who dwell outside the city for a distance of one handred

"Let still another magistrate be chosen, this man also from the class described, whose duties shall be to pass upon and supervise all matters pertaining to

τρόπους και των βουλευτών και των ιππέων, άνδρών τε όμοίως καὶ παίδων γυναικών τε τών προσ-4 ηκουσών αυτοίς, έξετάζειν τε και έπισκοπείν, και τὰ μέν αὐτὸν ἐπανορθοῦν ὅσα μήτε τινὸς τιμωρίας άξιά έστι καὶ παρορώμενα πολλών καὶ μεγάλων κακών αίτια γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ δὴ μείζω σοὶ ἐπικοινοῦσθαι. βουλευτή γάρ τινι, καὶ τῷ γε άρίστω μετά τον πολίαργον, μάλλον ή τινι των Ιππέων ο προστετάγθαι τούτο δεί. και τό γε δρομα άπο της σης τιμαργίας (πάντως γάρ σε προεστάναι των τιμήσεων προσήκει) είκότως άν λάβοι, ώστε υποτιμητής καλείσθαι. Αρχέτωσαν δε δή οι δύο ούτοι δια βίου, άν γε μη κακυνθή τις αὐτών τρόπου τινά ή και νοσώδης ή και ύπεργήρως 6 γένηται. Εκ μεν γάρ της χρονίου άρχης ουδέν αν δεινόν, ατε ό μεν παντελώς ασπλος ών, ό δ' όλύνους τε στρατιώτας έχων καὶ έν τοίς σοίς 7 όφθαλμοῖς τὸ πλείστον άρχων, ἐργάσαιντο· ἐκ δὲ δη του έτείου καὶ όκνησειαν άν προσκρούσαί τινι καὶ φοβηθείεν έρρωμένως τι πράξαι, τήν τε έαυτών ίδιωτείαν και την άλλων τινών δυναστείαν προορώμενοι, καὶ μισθόν γέ τινα φερέτωσαν και της άσγολίας ένεκα και της άξιώσεως. " Περί μεν δη τούτων ταύτην σοι την γνώμην

b obros M. om. V.

^{*} česlov Saappe, švějov VM.

* čeršovice Dind., čeršovice VM.

* žaasr Leunel., žaasr VM.

BOOK LII

the families, property, and morals both of the senators Re. 20 and of the knights, alike of the men and of their wives and children. He should personally correct such behaviour as deserves no punishment, yet if neglected becomes the cause of many evils; but about the more important matters of misconduct he should confer with you. For the officer to whom these duties are assigned should be a senator, and in fact the best one after the prefect of the city, rather than one of the knights. As for the title of his office, he would naturally receive one derived from your censorial functions (for it is certainly appropriate that you should be in charge of the censuses), and be called sub-censor.1 Let these two, the city prefect and the sub-censor, hold office for life, unless one of them becomes demoralized in some way or is incapacitated by sickness or old age. For no harm could result from their holding office for life, since the one would be entirely without armed forces and the other would have but few soldiers and would be acting for the most part under your eyes; whereas the effect of the yearly tenure would be that they would shrink from offending any one and would be afraid to act with energy, since they would be looking ahead to their own retirement to private life and to the exercise of the power of the office by others. They should also draw a salary, not only to compensate them for the loss of their leisure but also to enhance the prestige of their office.

"This is the opinion I have to give you in regard

¹ Cf. Suctonius, Aug. 37. In practice there were six of them—three to nominate senators and three to hold a review of the knights.

δίδωμι, οί δέ δή στρατηγήσαντες άρχέτωσάν τινα άρχην εν τοις υπηκόοις (πρίν γάρ στρατηγήσαί σφας ούχ ήγουμαι δείν τούτο γίγνεσθαι έκείνοι δ' ύποστρατηγείτωσαν οίς αν είπω, και απαξ και δεύτερον), είθ' ούτως ύπατευέτωσαν, άν γε καὶ όρθως διάρξωσι, καὶ μετά ταῦτα τὰς μείζους 22 ήγεμονίας λαμβανέτωσαν. ώδε γαρ συμβουλεύω σοι διατάξαι. τήν τε Ίταλίαν πάσαν την ύπερ πεντήκοντα καὶ έπτακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους οὐσαν, καὶ τάλλα πάντα τά τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις και τὰ έν ταῖς ήπείροις όμολογούντα ήμεν, κατάνειμον έκασταχόθι κατά τε γένη καλ έθνη, τάς τε πόλεις άπάσας, όσας γε καί αύταρκές έστιν υφ' ένδς άνδρος αυτοτελούς άργε-2 σθαι κάνταθθα στρατιώτας εγκατάστησον, καὶ άργοντας καθ' έκάστους ένα μέν έκ των ύπατευκότων έπι πασι πέμπε, δύο δε έκ των έστρατηγηκότων, του μέν άρτι έκ της πόλεως έξιόντα, καὶ αὐτῷ τά τε ίδιωτικά πράγματα καὶ ή των έπιτηδείων παρασκευή προσκείσθω, τον δέ έκ των τούτο πεποιηκότων, δε τά τε κοινά των πόλεων διοικήσει καὶ τῶν στρατιωτών ἄρξει, 3 πλήν όσα άτιμίας ή θανάτου έχεται. ταύτα γάρ ές μόνον τον υπατευκότα άρχοντα άνηκέτω, πλην περί τε τῶν ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐν τοῖς καταλόγοις οντων και περί των ίδιωτων των παρ' εκάστοις πρώτων τούτους γαρ δη έκατέρους μηδενί άλλω

¹ rais R. Steph, rois VM. 2 re supplied by Obbley. 2 ist saar-dotparnyyeerus M, om. V.

BOOK LII

to these officials. As for those who have served as ac = practors, let them hold some office among the subject nations (before they have been practors I do not think they should have this privilege, but they ought first to serve for one or two terms as lieutenants to the ex-practors just mentioned); then they should next hold office as consuls, provided that they have proved satisfactory officials to the end of their terms, and after that they should receive the more important governorships. I advise you, namely, to arrange these positions as follows. Take Italy as a whole (I mean the part of it which is more than one hundred miles from the city), and all the rest of the territory which owns our sway, the islands and the continents, and divide it into districts, in each case according to races and nations, and take also all the cities that are strong and independent enough to be ruled by one governor with full powers. Then station soldiers in them and send out as governor to each district or independent city one of the ex-consuls, who shall have general charge, and two of the ex-practors. One of the latter, fresh from the city, should be put in charge of all matters pertaining to persons in private life and of the commissary; the other, a man who has had special training for this work, will administer the public business of the cities and will have command of the soldiers, except in cases that involve disfranchisement or death. Such cases, of course, should be referred to the ex-consul who is governor, and to him alone, except where the persons involved are centurions recruited from the levies or private persons of prominence in their respective communities; as for both these classes, do not allow anybody but yourself to punish them,

κολάζειν έπιτρέψης, ίνα μή ούτω τινά αύτων 4 φοβώνται ώστε ποτέ και κατά σού τι πράξαι. δ δ΄ είπου, ότι του έτερου των έστρατηγηκότων έπλ τοίς στρατιώταις επιτετάγθαι δεί, τοιουτόν έστιν. αν μεν ολίγοι τινές έν ξενικοίς τείχεσιν ή και έν ένι πολιτικώ στρατεύωνται, καλώς έχει τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι αν δε δύο πολιτικά στρατεύματα έν ταύτο έθνει γειμάζη (πλείω γάρ τούτων ούκ άν συμβουλεύσαιμί σοι τώ αὐτώ άργοντι ἐπιτρέψαι). 5 δεήσει που τους δύο τους έστρατηγηκότας και έκείνων, ίδια έκατέρου, και τών άλλων τών τε πολιτικών και των ιδιωτικών ομοίως προίστασθαι. ό δ' ούν ύπατευκώς ταυτά τε . . . ! καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς δίκας τάς τε ἐκκλήτους καὶ τὰς ἀναπομπίμους τὰς ἀπὸ 2 τῶν στρατηγών αὐτῷ 4 φοιτώσας κρινέ-6 τω. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εί καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοιαθτα μέρη νείμαι σοι παραινών πολλή τε γάρ και πολυάνθρωπος ούσα άδύνατος έστιν ύπο τών έν τω άστει άργουτων καλώς διοικείσθαι. δεί γάρ τοίς τε δήμοις τον άρχοντα άεὶ παρείναι καὶ τοίς άργουσι τὰ δυνατά προστάσσεσθαι.

3 "Λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ μισθὸν πάντες οὖτοι οἱ τὰς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐπιτρεπόμενοι, πλείω μὲν οἱ μείζους, ἐλάττω δὲ οἱ καταδεέστεροι, μέσον δὲ οἱ μέσοι οὖτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οἰον τέ ἐστιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῆ ἀλλοτρία ἀποζῆν, οὖτ' ἀορίστω καὶ ὰρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μή τις ἀδικήσειὲ τι, μήτε πλεῖον πέντε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰ

¹ Lacuna recognised by Bk.
2 4rd Rk., 4rd VM.

abro Rk., peron VM.

lest they come to fear some of these officials to such an ac.29 extent as to take measures, on occasion, against you as

well as against them. As for my suggestion that the second of the ex-practors should be put in charge of the soldiers, it is to be understood as follows; if only a small body of troops is serving abroad in the military posts or at home in a single post, my proposal is satisfactory; but if two citizen legions are wintering in the same province (and more than this number I should not advise you to trust to one commander), it will no doubt be necessary for both the ex-praetors to hold the command over them, each having charge of one, and for each to have his share of authority similarly in matters affecting either the state or private citizens. Let the ex-consul, accordingly, have these [duties], and let him also decide the cases which come to him on appeal and those which are referred to him by the practors for review. And do not be surprised that I recommend to you the dividing of Italy also into these administrative districts. It is large and populous, and so cannot possibly be well administered by the magistrates in the city; for a governor ought always to be present in the district he governs, and no duties should be laid upon

our city magistrates which they cannot perform.

"Let all these men to whom the commands outside the city are assigned receive salaries, the more important officers more, the less important less, and those between an intermediate amount. For they cannot live in a foreign land upon their own resources, nor should they indulge, as they do now, in unlimited and indefinite expenditure. They should hold office not less than three years, unless they are guilty of misconduct, nor more than five. The reason is that

ἐνιαύσιοι καὶ ὅλιγοχρόνιοι ἀρχαὶ διδάξασαί τινας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπέμπουσι πρίν τι αὐτῶν ἀποδειχθῆναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι αὶ μακρύτεραι καὶ πολυχρονιώτεραι ἐπαίρουσί πως πολλούς καὶ ἐς νεωτεροποιίαν εξάγουσι. διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπαλλήλας τὰς μείζους ἡγεμονίας οἰμαί τισι προσήκειν ἱδίδοσθαι. οὕτε γὰρ διαφέρει τι ἄν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔθνει ἄν τε καὶ ἐν πλείοσιν ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ μακρότερον τοῦ δέοντος ἄρχῶσι· καὶ ἀμείνονες γίγνονται, ἐπειδὰν διαλίπωσί ² τέ τινα χρόνον καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπανέλθωσι καὶ ἱδιωτεύσωσι.

ίδιωτεύσωσι.

"Τοὺς μὲν δὴ οὖν βουλευτὰς ταῦτά τε καὶ οὖτω 21 διέπειν φημὶ χρῆναι, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἰπτέων δύο τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς περὶ σὲ φρουρᾶς ἄρχειν τό τε γὰρ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι σφαλερὸν καὶ τὸ 2 πλείοσι ταραχῶδές ἐστι. ἔνο τε οὖν ἔστωσαν οἱ ἔπαρχοι οὖτοι, ἴν ἀν καὶ ὁ ἔτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαίσθηταὶ τι τῷ σώματι, μήτι γε καὶ ἐνδεὴς τοῦ φυλάξοντὸς σε εἶης καὶ καθιστάσθωσαν ἐκ τῶν πολλάκις τε ἐστρατευμένων καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα 3 διωκηκότων. ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ δὴ τῶν τε δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία πάντων, ὅστε καὶ θανατοῦν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας αὐτῶν πλὴν τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἄρχουσι προστετα- 4 γμένων. Τοὐτους μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι δικαιού-

[·] προσήπειε Βk., προσήπου VM. · διαλίσωσί Βk., διαλείσωσί VM.

^{*} εδν Βουλευτάι Βε., συμβουλευται VM. * μήτι Dmel., μήτοι VM. * δή M. οιπ. V.

offices held for only one year or for short periods merely teach the officials their bare duties and then dismiss them before they can put any of their acquired knowledge into use, while, on the other hand, the longer terms of many years' duration somehow have the effect, in many cases, of filling the officials with conceit and encouraging them to rebellion. Hence, again, I think that the more important posts ought in no case to be given consecutively to the same man. For it makes no difference whether a man is governor in the same province or in several in succession, if he holds office for a period longer than is advisable; besides, appointees improve when there is an interval between their incumbencies during which they return home and resume the life of ordinary citizens.

" As regards the senators, therefore, I declare that they ought to discharge the duties named and in the way described. Of the knights the two best should command the bodyguard which protects you, for it is hazardous to entrust it to one man, and sure to lead to confusion to entrust it to more than two. Therefore let the number of these prefects be two, in order that, if one of them feel indisposed, you may still not lack a person to guard you. And men should be appointed to this office who have served in many military campaigns and have, besides, held many administrative positions. And they should have command both of the Pretorians and of all the other soldiers in Italy, with power even to put to death any of them who do wrong, with the exception of the centurions and of those in general who have been assigned to the staffs of magistrates of senatorial rank. For these soldiers should be tried by the

τωσαν, ίνα άπροφασίστως σφίσι γρησθαι, άτε καὶ κολάσαι καὶ τιμήσαι σφας έξουσίαν έχοντες, δύνωνται τών δ' άλλων των έν τη Ιταλία στρατιωτών οι έπαρχοι έκείνοι προστατείτωσαν, υπάρχους έχουτες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων1 των τε έν τη θεραπεία σου όντων και των άλλων 5 των λόγου τινός άξων. ταυτα γάρ και προσήκοντα καὶ αὐτάρκη αὐτοῖς διάγεω ἔσται,2 ἴνα μὶ, και πλείω πράγματα ών καλώς φέρειν δυνήσονται έπιταχθέντες άσχολοι πρός τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἡ καὶ άδύνατοι πάντων αὐτῶν προίστασθαι γένωνται. ε και ούτοι μέν διά βίου, ώσπερ που και ό πολίαρχος δ θ' ύποτιμητής, την άρχην έχέτωσαν νυκτοφύλαξ δε έτερος, και επί τοῦ σίτου της τε άγορας της λοιπής έτερος έκ τε των ιππέων των πρώτων μετ' έκείνους και ές τακτου χρόνου άποδεικνύσθωσαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ 25 προχειριζόμενοι. τάς τε διοικήσεις των χρημάτων, τών τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τών τῆς άρχῆς λέγω, και τὰς ἐν τῆ 'Ρώμη τῆ τε ἄλλη 'Ιταλία και τὰς 2 έξω πάσας οἱ ἐππῆς διαχειριζέτωσαν, καὶ μισθὸν ούτοί τε και οι άλλοι πάντες οι έκ του αυτου τέλους διοικούντές τι, οί μεν πλείονα οί δε ελάττονα, πρός τε το άξίωμα και πρός το μέγεθος της 3 πράξεως φερέτωσαν, τοῦτο μεν ότι 5 ούχ οἰόν τέ

Knigapeler H. Steph., gaigapler VM.

dangs M (lenger), lenger V.

Adreses R. Steph., rar daderrora VM. 5rc M. no. V.

senatorial magistrates themselves, in order that the a.c. 29 latter, by virtue of the authority they would thus possess of dealing out punishments to them as well as honours, may be able to command their unhesitating support. Over all the other soldiers in Italy, however, the prefects I have mentioned should be in command, having lieutenants under them, and likewise over the Caesarians, both those who are in attendance upon you and such of the others as are of any account. These duties will be both fitting and sufficient for them to discharge, for if they have more responsibilities assigned to them than they are able to carry satisfactorily, there is danger that they may have no time for the essential things, or, if they have, may prove incompetent to exercise oversight over all their duties. These prefects also should hold office for life, like the prefect of the city and the subcensor. Let another official be appointed to be commander of the night-watch 1 and still another to be commissioner of grain 2 and of the market in general, both of them from the equestrian order and the best men after the prefects, and let them hold their posts for a definite term, like the magistrates elected from the senatorial class. The management of the public funds, also,-I mean both those of the people and those of the empire, not only in Rome but also in the rest of Italy and outside Italy,-should be entirely in the hands of the knights, and they, as well as all the other members of the equestrian order who are charged with an administrative position, should be on salary, greater or less in proportion to the dignity and importance of their duties. The reason for the second part of this suggestion is that it is not possible

Proefectus vigilium.

¹ Prinefectus announce.

έστιν αὐτούς, ἄτε καὶ πενεατέρους τῶν βουλευτῶν όντας, άπο των οίκείων, ούδε έν τη 'Ρώμη τι πράττοντας, αναλίσκειν, έκεινο δε ότι μήτε δυνατον μήτε συμφέρον έστί σοι τους αυτούς των τε! δυνάμεων και των χρημάτων κυρίους γίγνεσθαι. 4 πρός δ' έτι και καλώς έγει δια πλειόνων πάντα τα τη - άρχη προσήκοντα διώγεσθαι, όπως και ώφελώνται άμα συχνοί και έμπειροι τών πραγμάτων γίγνωνται ούτω γάρ οί τε άρχομενοι μάλλον ευνοήσουσί σοι, πολυειδή απόλαυσιν των κοινών άγαθών καρπούμενοι, καὶ σὺ άφθονώτατα τοις ἀεὶ ἀρίστοις πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαία χρήση. 5 απόχρη δε εν μεν τη πόλει καθ εκαστον χρηματίσεως είδος, έξω δέ καθ' έκαστον έθνος, είς τις έκ των ίππέων, υπομείονας δσους αν ή χρεία άπαιτη εκ τε των ίππεων και έκ των έξελευθέρων σου έχων δεί γάρ και τοιούτους τινάς συζευγνύναι σφίσιν, ίνα ή τε θεραπεία σου άθλον τι άρετης έχη, και σύ μη άπορης παρ' ών και άκουτων την άληθειαν, ών γε τι πλημμεληθή, μαθείν δυνήση.

6 ""Οστις δ' αν των ίππέων διὰ πολλών διεξελθών ελλόγιμος ώστε καὶ βουλεύσαι γένηται, μηδέν αὐτόν ἡ ἡλικία έμποδιζέτω πρὸς τὸ μὴ οὐ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον καταλεχθήναι, ἀλλ' ἐσγραφέσθωσαν καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνων, κὰν λελοχαγηκότες τινὲς ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς στρατοπέδοις ώσι, πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ 7 τεταγμένω ἐστρατευμένων. τούτων μὲν γὰρ τῶν

τ το M, αια. V. * τὰ τῷ M, τὰ ἐν τῷ V. * ἀναιτῷ V, ἀναιτεῖ Μ.

for the knights, since they are poorer than the B.C. SI senators, to meet their expenditures out of their own means, even when their duties keep them in Rome, and for the first point, that it is neither practicable nor to your interest that the same men should be given anthority over both the troops and the public funds. And, furthermore, it is well that the whole business of the empire should be transacted by a number of agents, in order that many may at the sume time receive the benefits and gain experience in public affairs; for in this way your subjects, reaping a manifold enjoyment of the common blessings, will be more favourably disposed towards you, and you will have at your disposal in the largest measure those who are at any particular time the best men for all urgent needs. One official of the equestrian order is sufficient for each branch of the fiscal service in the city, and, outside the city, for each province, each one of them to have as many subordinates, drawn from the knights and from your own freedmen, as the needs of the case demand; for you need to associate with the officials such assistants in order that your service may offer a prize for merit, and that you may not lack those from whom you may learn the truth, even contrary to their wishes, in ease any irregularity is committed.

"If any of the knights, after passing through many branches of the service, distinguishes himself enough to become a senator, his age ought not to hinder him at all from being enrolled in the senate. Indeed, some knights should be received into the senate, even if they have seen service only as company commanders in the citizen legions, except such as have served in the rank and file. For it is both a shame

καὶ φορμοφορησάντων καὶ λαρκοφορησάντων καὶ αἰσχρον καὶ ἐπονείδιστόν ἐστιν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ τινας ἐξετάζεσθαι· ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐκατονταρχησάντων οὐδὲν κωλύει τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτά-

τους αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνειν.

26 "Περὶ μέν οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππέων ταῦτά σοι συμβουλεύειν ἔχω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἵνα ἔως τε ἔτι παῖδές εἰσιν, ἐς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα συμφοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐς μειράκια ἐκβάλωσιν, ἐπί τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα τρέπωνται, διδασκάλους ἐκατέρων δημοσιεύουτας ² ἐμμίσθους ἔχοντες. οὕτω γὰο εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων

- 2 έμμισθους έχοντες, ούτω γάρ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πάνθ' ὅσα χρὴ ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μαθόντες καὶ μελετήσαντες ἐπιτη-δειότεροὶ σοι πρὸς πῶν ἔργον γενήσονται. τὸν γὰρ ἄρχοντα τὸν ἄριστον, οὖ τέ τι ὅφελός ἐστι, δεῖ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν πάνθ' ἃ προσήκει ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως ὡς ὅτι βέλτιστοι
- 3 γίγνωνται, προνοείν. τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρξειεν ἄν σοι οὐκ ἀν ἐάσας αὐτοὺς ὅσα βοῦλονται πράττειν, ἔπειτ' ἐπιτιμᾶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀν πρίν τι πλημμελεῖσθαι, προδιδάσκης πάνθ' ὅσα ἀσκήσαντες χρησιμώτεροι καὶ ἐαυτοῦς καὶ σοὶ γενήσονται, καὶ μηδενί γε τὸ παράπαν πρόφασιν
- 4 παρέχης, μήτε διὰ πλοῦτον μήτε δι εὐγένειαν μήτε δι άλλο τι άρετης έχόμενον, ραθυμίαν η μαλακίαν η καὶ ἐπιτήδευσίν τινα κίβδηλον προσποιείσθαι. πολλοί γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ διὰ

2 Sei flor., Seir VM.

* wapexps R. Steph., wapexous VM.

al ri Aia sal éscira M, om. V.

³ oin he éasar Ek., oùs he édons VM flor. (cod. B), si sie he édons flor. (cod. A).

BOOK LII

and a reproach that men of this sort, who have carried ac a faggets and charcoal, should be found on the roll of the senate; but in the case of knights who began their service with the rank of centurion, there is nothing to prevent the most notable of them from

belonging to the senate.

"With regard, then, to the senators and the knights, this is the advice I have to give you, -yes, and this also, that while they are still children they should attend the schools, and when they come out of childhood into youth i they should turn their minds to horses and to arms, and have paid public teachers in each of these departments. In this way from their very boyhood they will have had both instruction and practice in all that they will themselves be required to do on reaching manhood, and will thus prove more serviceable to you for every undertaking. For the best ruler,-the ruler who is worth anything, -should not only perform himself all the duties which devolve upon him, but should make provision for the rest also, that they may become as excellent as possible, And this title can be yours, not if you allow them to do whatever they please and then censure those who err, but if, before any mistakes are made, you give them instruction in everything the practice of which will render them more useful both to themselves and to you, and if you afford nobody any excuse whatever, either wealth or nobility of birth or any other attribute of excellence, for affecting indolence or effeminacy or any other behaviour that is counterfeit. For many persons, fearing that, by reason of

The Greek term indicates approximately the age of fourteen.

τοιούτό τι και φθονηθώσι και κινδυνεύσωσι, πολλά καὶ ἀνάξια ἐαυτών ποιούσιν ώς καὶ ἀσφα-5 λέστερον απ' αυτών βιωσύμενοι κάκ τούτον έκείνοι μέν έλεούνται ώς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο άδικούμενοι, τὸ μη δοκείν εξείναι σφισιν ορθώς ζην, τώ δ' ἄργοντι αὐτών καὶ ζημία ἄμα ἀγαθών ἀνδρών στερομένω καὶ κακοδοξία τῆς αἰτιάσεως συμβαίνει. μήτ' ούν περιίδης ποτέ τούτο πραγθέν, μήτ' αὐ δείσης ότι τραφείς τέ τις καὶ παιδευθείς ώς έγω 6 λέγω 1 νεώτερον τι τολμήσει. παν γαρ τουναντίου τούς τε άμαθείς και τους ασελγείς υποτοπείν δευ? οί μέν γάρ τοιούτοι πάντα άπλώς και τα αίσχιστα και τα δεινότατα, πρώτον μέν ές σφάς αὐτούς έπειτα δέ καὶ ές τούς άλλους, ραδίως ποιείν προάγονται, οί δὲ δὴ καλῶς τραφέντες τε καὶ παιδενθέντες ούτ άλλον τινά άδικείν προαιρούνται, καλ πάντων ήκιστα του της τε τροφής και της παι-7 δείας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθέντα. άν δ' οὖν τις καὶ κακὸς καὶ ἀγάριστος γένηται, μηδέν αὐτῶ τοιοῦτον επιτρέψης έξ ού δεινόν τι δράσαι δυνήσεται. κάν γε καί ως νεογμώση τι, και έλεγγθήτω και κολασθήτω, μη γαρ δη φοβηθής ότι σε αιτιάσεταί τις έπὶ τούτω, ών γε πάνθ' δσα εξρηκα πράττης. 8 σύ μεν γάρ ούδεν άμαρτήση τον άδικήσαντα τιμωρησάμενος, ώσπερ ούδε ο ίατρος καύσας τινά καὶ τεμών εκείνου δε δη πάντες δικαιώσουσιν.

¹ Adyw R. Steph., Adywr VM. 4 3et M. 5h V.

BOOK LII

some such advantage, they may incur jealousy or as a danger, do many things that are unworthy of themselves, expecting by such behaviour to live in greater As a consequence, not only do they, on their part, become objects of pity as being victims of injustice in precisely this respect, that men believe that they are deprived of the opportunity of leading upright lives, but their ruler also, on his part, suffers not only a loss, in that he is robbed of men who might have been good, but also ill-repute, because he is blamed for the others' condition. Therefore never permit this thing to happen, and have no fear, on the other hand, that anyone who has been reared and educated as I propose will ever venture upon a rebellion. On the contrary, it is the ignorant and licentious that you should suspect; for it is such persons who are easily influenced to do absolutely any and every thing, even the most disgraceful and outrageous, first toward themselves and then toward others, whereas those who have been well reared and educated do not deliberately do wrong to any one else and least of all to the one who has cared for their rearing and education. If, however, one of these does show himself wicked and ungrateful, you have merely to refuse to entrust him with any position of such a kind as will enable him to do any mischief; and if even so he rebels, let him be convicted and punished. You need not, I assure you, be afraid that anyone will blame you for this, provided that you carry out all my injunctions. For in taking vengeance on the wrongdoor you will be guilty of no sin, any more than the physician is who resorts to cautery and surgery; but all men will assuredly say that the offender has got his deserts,

ότι και τροφής και παιδείας της αυτής τοις άλλοις

μετασγών έπεβούλευσέ σοι.

" Περί μεν ούν τους βουλευτάς τούς τε ίππεας 27 ταθτα γιγνέσθω τους δέ δή στρατιώτας άθανάτους, έκ τε τών πολιτών κάκ τών ύπηκόων τών τε συμμάχων, τη μέν πλείους τη δέ ελάττους, καθ' ξκαστου έθνος, δπως αυ ή χρεία τῶν πραγμάτων 2 άπαιτή, τρέφεσθαι προσήκει, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀεί τε ἐν τοίς δπλοις είναι και την άσκησιν των πολεμικών διά παντός ποιείσθαι δεί, γειμάδιά τε έν τοίς έπικαιροτάτοις γωρίοις κατεσκευασμένους και γρόνον τακτόν στρατευομένους, διστε τι αύτοις και προ 3 του γήρως της ήλικίας περιείναι. ούτε γάρ έπὶ τών καιρών βοηθείαις τισίν έτι γρήσθαι δυνάμεθα, αὐτοί τε τοσούτον ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀργῆς έσγατιών άπηρτημένοι καὶ πολεμίους έκασταγόθι προσοικούντας έχοντες: άν τε έπιτρέψωμεν πάσι τοις έν τη ήλικία ουσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κεκτήσθαι και τα έμπολέμια άσκειν, στάσεις και πόλεμοι 4 απ' αυτών εμφύλιοι αεί γενήσονται. και μέντοι κάν κωλύσαντές σφας ταθτα ποιείν έπειτα συμμαχίας τινός παρ' αὐτῶν δεηθώμεν, κινδυνεύσομεν' ἀπείροις τε καὶ ἀγυμνάστοις στρατιώταις ἀεὶ γρώμενοι. διά μεν δή ταθτα γνώμην ποιούμαι τούς μέν άλλους πάντας άνευ τε δπλων και άνευ τειγών ζήν, τους δὲ ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ βίου μάλιστα δεομένους καταλέγεσθαί τε και άσκείν. 5 αύτοί τε γάρ άμεινον πολεμήσουσι τούτο μόνο

i virðuri órogar R. Steph., xirðuri órugar VM.

BOOK LII

because, after partaking of the same rearing and accor

education as the rest, he plotted against you.

"Let this be your procedure, then, in the case of the senators and the knights. A standing army also should be supported, drawn from the citizens, the subject nations, and the allies, its size in the several provinces being greater or less according as the necessities of the case demand; and these troops ought always to be under arms and to engage in the practice of warfare continually. They should have winter-quarters constructed for them at the most advantageous points, and should serve for a stated period, so that a portion of life may still be left for them between their retirement from service and old age. The reason for such a standing army is this: far removed as we are from the frontiers of the empire, with enemies living near our borders on every side, we are no longer able at critical times to depend upon expeditionary forces; and if, on the other hand, we pennit all the men of military age to have arms and to practise warfare, they will always be the source of seditions and civil wars. If, however, we prevent them from all making arms their profession and afterwards need their aid in war, we shall be exposed to danger, since we shall never have anything but inexperienced and untrained soldiers to depend upon. For these reasons I give it as my opinion that, while in general the men of military age should have nothing to do with arms and walled camps during their lives, the hardiest of them and those most in need of a livelihood should be enlisted as soldiers and given a military training. For they will fight better if they devote their time to this one

τώ έργω σχολάζοντες, και οί λοιποί ράον γεωργήσουσι και ναυτιλούνται τα τε άλλα τα τη είρηνη προσήκοντα πράξουσι μήτε έκβοηθείν άναγκαζόμενοι και προφύλακας σφων έτέρους έχοντες, τό τε άκμαιότατον καὶ Ισχυρότατον και έκ ληστείας μάλιστα ζήν άναγκαζομένον άλύπως τραφήσετας,

και το λοιπον πων ακινδύνως Βιώσεται.

"Πόθεν ούν χρήματα καὶ ές τούτους καὶ ές τὰ 98 άλλα τὰ ἀναγκαίως ἀναλωθησόμενα ἔσται; έγω και τούτο διδάξω, σμικρόν έκεινο ύπειπών, ότι κάν δημοκρατηθώμεν, πάντως που γρημάτων δεησόμεθα ι οὐ γάρ οἰόν τε ούτ' ἄνεν στρατιωτών ημάς σώζεσθαι ούτ' άμισθί τινας στρατεύ-2 εσθαι. μη ούν ώς καὶ τη μοναρχία μόνη της άναγκαίας των χρημάτων άθροίσεως προσηκούσης Βαρυνώμεθα, μηδέ δι' αύτην και άπ' έκείνης άποτρεπώμεθα, άλλ' ώς και πάντως άναγκαΐου ου ήμιν, όπως ποτ' αν πολιτευώμεθα, και άρτα-3 ρίζεσθαί τινα, ούτω βουλευώμεθα. φημί τοίνυν γρήναι σε πρώτον μεν απάντων τα κτήματα τα έν τω δημοσίω όντα (πολλά δὲ ταῦτα όρω διά τούς πολέμους γεγουότα) πωλήσαι, πλήν όλίγων των και πάνυ χρησίμων σοι και άναγκαίων, και το άργύριον τούτο παν έπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ τόκοις ι έκδανείσαι, ούτω γάρ ή τε γή ένεργος έσται, δεσπόταις αυτουργοίς δοθείσα, και έκείνοι άφορμην λαβόντες εύπορώτεροι γενήσονται, το τε

2 danosi St., danostel VM.

¹ Зепрацева Dind., Веняноврива VM.

^{*} rivas M, riva V. * acras M, acras V.

BOOK LH

business, and the rest will find it easier to earry on their farming, scafaring, and the other pursuits appropriate to peace, if they are not compelled to take part in military expeditions but have others to act as their defenders. Thus the most active and vigorous element of the population, which is generally obliged to gain its livelihood by brigandage, will support itself without molesting others, while all the rest

will live without incurring dangers.

" From what source, then, is the money to be provided for these soldiers and for the other expenses that will of necessity be incurred? I shall explain this point also, prefacing it with a brief reminder that even if we have a democracy we shall in any case, of course, need money. For we cannot survive without soldiers, and men will not serve as soldiers without pay. Therefore let us not be oppressed by the idea that the necessity of raising money belongs only to a monarchy, and let us not be led by that consideration to turn our backs upon this form of government, but let us assume in our deliberations that, under whatever form of government we shall live, we shall certainly be constrained to secure funds. My proposal, therefore, is that you shall first of all sell the property that belongs to the state,-and I observe that this has become vast on account of the wars,-reserving only a little that is distinctly useful or necessary to you; and that you lend out all the money thus realized at a moderate rate of interest. In this way not only will the land be put under cultivation, being sold to owners who will cultivate it themselves, but also the latter will acquire a capital and become more prosperous, while the treasury will gain a permanent revenue that will

δημόστον διαρκή και άθάνατον πρόσοδον έξει. είτα συλλογίσασθαι ταῦτά τε καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἔκ τε μεταλλείας και εί δή ποθεν άλλοθεν βεβαίως 5 δύναται προσιέναι, καὶ μετά τυύτυ άντιλογίσα. σθαι μη μόνον τὰ στρατιωτικὰ άλλὰ καὶ τάλλα πάντα δι ών καλώς πόλις οίκειται, και προσέτι καὶ όσα ές τε τὰς αἰφνιδίους στραπείας καὶ ές τὰ λοιπά όσα είωθεν έπὶ καιρού συμβαίνειν, άναγ-6 καΐον έσται δαπανάσθαι κάκ τούτου πρός πάν τὸ λείπου φόρου τε ἐπιτάξαι πάσιν άπλῶς τοῖς έπικαρπίαν τουά το κεκτημένο αυτά παρέχουσι, καὶ τέλη καταστήσαι παρά πάσιν ών άργομεν (καὶ γὰρ καὶ δίκαιον καὶ προσήκον ἐστι μηδένα αύτων άτελή είναι, μη ίδιώτην, μη δήμον, άτε καί της ώφελίας της άπ' αύτων όμοίως τοις άλλοις Τ ἀπολαύσοντας²), καί σφων ἐκλογέας τοὺς ἐπιτροπεύσοντας ἐκασταχόθι ποιῆσαι, ὡστε αὐτοὺς παν το τω της έπιτροπείας αυτών χρύνω προσήκον έξ άπασῶν τῶν προσόδων ἐσπράττειν. τοῦτο γάρ και εκείνοις ράω την έσπραξιν ποιήσει και

τοις διδουσί τι ωφελίαν ουκ ελαχίστην παρέξει. 8 λέγω δε το κατ' όλίγον σφας εν ταις τάξεσιν δσα όφείλουσιν εσφέρειν, και μή, βραχύν ράθυμήσαντας χρόνον, επικεφαλαιωθέντα πάντα εσά-

παξ άπαιτείσθαι.

29 "Καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τε φόρων καὶ τῶν τελῶν καθισταμένων ἀχθεσθήσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο οἰδα ὅτι, ἀν μήτε προσεπηρεάζωνται καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ πεισθῶσιν ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα καὶ

* +5 R. Steph., +00 VM.

i émmapular M, del napriar V.

a arolasoseras R. Steph., avalai garras VM.

suffice for its needs. In the second place, I advise uc. 29 you to make an estimate of the revenues from this source and of all the other revenues which can with certainty be derived from the mines or any other source, and then to make and balance against this a second estimate of all the expenses, not only those of the army, but also of all those which contribute to the well-being of a state, and furthermore of those which will necessarily be incurred for unexpected campaigns and the other needs which are wont to arise in an emergency. The next step is to provide for any deficiency by levying an assessment upon absolutely all property which produces any profit for its possessors, and by establishing a system of taxes among all the peoples we rule. For it is but just and proper that no individual or district be exempt from these taxes, inasmuch as they are to enjoy the benefits derived from the taxation as much as the And you should appoint tax-collectors to have supervision of this business in each district, and cause them to exact the entire amount that falls due during the term of their supervision from all the sources of revenue. This plan will not only render the work of collection easier for these officials, but will in particular benefit the tax-payers, inasmuch, I mean, as these will bring in what they owe in the small instalments appointed, whereas now, if they are remiss for a brief period, the entire sum is added up and demanded of them in a single payment.

"I am not unaware that some will object if this system of assessments and taxes is established. But I know this, too,—that if they are subjected to no further abuses and are indeed convinced that all these contributions of theirs will make for their own

" Χρήματα μέν δή καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ ἐκ τοίτων ὑπάρξειεν ἄν τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον ὅιοικεῖν σοι παραινῶ. τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τοῦτο καὶ κατακόσμει πάση πολυτελεία καὶ ἐπιλάμπρυνε παντὶ είδει πανηγύρεων προσήκει τε γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολλῶν ἄρχοντας ἐν πᾶσι πάντων ὑπερέχειν, καὶ φέρει πως καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρός τε τοὺς συμμάχους αἰδῶ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατάπληξιν. τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἄδε δίεπε. πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δῆμοι μήτε κύριοὶ τινος ἔστωσαν μήτε ἐς ἐκκληδιαν τὸ παράπαν φοιτάτωσαν οὐτε γὰρ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν φρονήσειαν ἄν καὶ συχνὰ ᾶν ἀεὶ ταράξειαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ ἡμῖν δῆμον οῦτε ἐς δικαστήριον οῦτε ἐς ἀρχαιρεσίας, οῦτε ἐς ἄλλοι τινὰ τοιοῦτον σύλλογον ἐν ὧ τι καὶ χρηματι-

² wooden R. Steph., wpbs del VM.

[&]quot; åyalbr M, om. V.

⁸ ofre R. Steph., obbl VM.

security and for their fearless enjoyment of the rest acces of their property, and that, again, the larger part of their contributions will be received by none but themselves, as governors, procurators, or soldiers, they will be exceedingly grateful to you, since they will be giving but a slight portion of the abundance from which they derive the benefit without having to submit to abuses. Especially will this be true if they see that you live temperately and spend nothing foolishly. For who, if he saw that you were quite frugal in your expenditures for yourself and quite lavish in those for the commonwealth, would not willingly contribute, believing that your wealth

meant his own security and prosperity?

"So far as funds are concerned, therefore, a great abundance would be supplied from these And I advise you to conduct as follows the administration of such matters as have not yet been mentioned. Adorn this capital with utter disregard of expense and make it magnificent with festivals of every kind. For it is fitting that we who rule over many people should surpass all men in all things, and brilliance of this sort, also, tends in a way to inspire our allies with respect for us and our enemies with terror. The affairs of the other cities you should order in this fashion: In the first place, the populace should have no authority in any matter, and should not be allowed to convene in any assembly at all; for nothing good would come out of their deliberations and they would always be stirring up a good deal of turmoil. Hence it is my opinion that our populace here in Rome, for that matter, should not come together either as a court or to hold the elections, or indeed in any meeting whose object is 151

3 σθήναι δεί, συνιέναι φημί χρήναι. ἔπειτα δὲ μήτ' οίκοδομημάτων πλήθεσιν ή και μεγέθεσιν ύπερ τάναγκαΐα χρήσθωσαν, μήτ' άγώνων πολλών καὶ παντοδαπών ἀναλώμασι δαπανάσθωσαν, ΐνα μήτε σπουδαίς ματαίαις έκτρύχωνται μήτε φιλοτιμίαις 4 άλόγοις πολεμώνται. έχέτωσαν μέν γάρ καί παυηγύρεις και θεωρίας τινάς, χωρίς της ίπποδρομίας της παρ' ήμεν ποιουμένης, μη μέντοι ώστε καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ή καὶ τοὺς ίδίους οίκους λυμαίνεσθαι, ξένον τέ τινα αναγκάζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς και ότιουν άναλίσκειν, και σίτησιν άθάνατον πασιν άπλως τοις αγώνά τινα νικήσασι δίδοσθαι. 5 τούς τε γάρ εὐπόρους ἄλογου έστιν έξω τι τῶν πατρίδων άναγκαστούς δαπανάν, και τοῖς άγωνισταίς ἀπόχρη τὰ ἄθλα τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τιθέμενα, χωρίς ή εί τις αὐτῶν 'Ολύμπια ή η Πίθια ή τινα ένταθθα άγωνα άνέλοιτο τους γάρ τοιούτους μόνους σιτείσθαι δεί, ίνα μήτε αί πόλεις μάτην επιτρίβωνται μήτε έξω τις των άξιονίκων άσκή, δυνάμενος άλλο τι χρησιμώτερον καὶ ἐαυτῷ και τῷ κοινῷ μετιέναι. περί μεν οὖν τούτων 7 ταυτα γιγνώσκω, τὰς δ' ἐπποδρομίας τὰς ἄνευ τῶν γυμνικών άγωνων έπιτελουμένας ούχ ήγουμαι δείν άλλη τινί πόλει ποιείν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅπιος μήτε χρήματα παμπληθή είκη παραπολλύηται μήθ'

ral M, om, V.

² dreamto Rk., he Indito V, he endre M.

to transact business. In the second place, the cities ac as should not indulge in public buildings unnecessarily numerous or large, nor waste their resources on expenditures for a large number and variety of public games, lest they exhaust themselves in futile exertions and be led by unreasonable rivalries to quarrel among themselves. They ought, indeed, to have their festivals and spectacles, - to say nothing of the Circensian games held here in Rome,-but not to such an extent that the public treasury or the estates of private citizens shall be ruined thereby, or that any stranger resident there shall be compelled to contribute to their expense, or that maintenance for life shall be granted to every one without exception who has won a victory in a contest. For it is unreasonable that the well-to-do should be put under compulsion to spend their money outside their own countries; and as for the competitors in the games, the prizes which are offered in each event are enough, unless a man wins in the Olympian or Pythian games or in some contest here in Rome. For these are the only victors who ought to receive their maintenance, and then the cities will not be wearing themselves out to no purpose nor will any athlete go into training except those who have a chance of winning; the rest will be able to follow some occupation that will be more profitable both to themselves and to the commonwealth. This is my opinion about these matters. But as to the horseraces in connection with which there are no gymnastic contests,1 I think that no city but Rome should be permitted to have them, the object being to prevent the wanton dissipation of vast sums of money and to

¹ He has reference to the Circensian games in Rome.

οί ἄνθρωποι κακῶς ἐκμαίνωνται, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον,
ἔν' οἱ στρατευόμενοι τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἵπποις ἀφθό8 νως χρῆσθαι ἔχωσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτ'
ἀπαγορεύω παντάπασι μηδαμόθι ἄλλοθι πλὴν
ἐνταῦθα γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἐμετρίασα, ἔν'
εὐδαπάνους τὰς ἀπολαύσεις καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων
καὶ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων ὡς ἔκαστοι ποιούμενοι καὶ
σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἀστασιαστότερου διάγωσι.

9 "Μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἡ καὶ σταθμὰ ἡ μέτρα ἰδία τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν" μήτε πρεσβείαν τινὰ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ πρῶγμά τι διαγνώσεως ἐχόμενον εἰη, πεμπέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε ἄρχοντί σφων δηλούτωσαν ὅσα βούλονται, καὶ δι ἐκείνον¹ σοι² τὰς ἀξιώσεις, ὅσας ᾶν δοκιμάση, προσφερέτωσαν, 10 οὕτω γὰρ οὕτ ἀναλώσουσί τι οὕτ αἰσχρῶς διαπράξονται, ἀλλ ἀκεραίονς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἄνευ

31 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάλλα ὅδ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖς ε ἄριστα διατάξαι, ᾶν πρώτον μὲν τὰς πρεσβείας τάς τε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἀφικνουμένας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσάγης (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ σεμνὸν κοὶ ἀξιόλογόν ἐστι τό τε τὴν βουλὴν πάντων κυρίαν δοκεῦν είναι, καὶ τὸ πολλούς τοὺς

δαπάνης ή καὶ πραγματείας τινὸς λήψονται.

desirou M. desirous V. and V. ou M. bossis Bk., darijis VM.

keep the populace from becoming deplorably erazed ac. 29 over such a sport, and, above all, to give those who are serving in the army an abundant supply of the best horses. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I would altogether forbid the holding of such races anywhere else than here in Rome; as to the other games, I have proposed to keep them within bounds, in order that each community, by putting upon an inexpensive basis its entertainments for both eye and ear, may live with greater moderation and less

factions strife.

"None of the cities should be allowed to have its own separate coinage or system of weights and measures; they should all be required to use ours. They should send no embassy to you, unless its business is one that involves a judicial decision; they should rather make what representations they will to their governor and through him bring to your attention such of their petitions as he shall approve. In this way they will be spared expense and be prevented from resorting to crooked practices to gain their object; and the answers they receive will be uncontaminated by their agents and will involve no expense or red tape.

" Moreover (to pass to other matters), it seems to me that you would be adopting the best arrangement if you should, in the first place, introduce before the senate the embassies which come from the enemy and from those under treaty with us, whether kings or democracies; for, among other considerations, it is both awe-inspiring and calculated to arouse comment for the impression to prevail that the senate has full authority in all matters and for all men to be fully aware that those envoys who are unfair in their

άντιπάλους τοις άγρωμονούσιν αυτών φαίνεσθαί). 2 έπειτα δε άν πάντα τὰ νομοθετούμενα δι' αὐτών ποιή, καὶ μηδέν τὸ παράπαν άλλο ἐπὶ πάντας όμοίως φέρη πλήν των έκείνης δογμάτων ούτω γάρ τό τε άξίωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μάλλον ἄν βεβαιοίτο, και τα δικαιώματα τάκ των νόμων κα άναμφίλογα και διάδηλα πάσιν άμα γίγνοιτο. 3 τρίτου, αν τούς τε βουλευτάς τούς έκ της γερουσίας και τούς παίδας τής τε γυναίκας αυτών, αν ποτέ τινα αίτίαν βαρυτέραν, ώστε τον άλόντα σφών άτιμίαν ή φυγήν ή και θάνατον όφλείν, λάβωσιν, ύπο τε το βουλευτήριον υπάγης μηδέν

4 προκαταγνούς, καὶ ἐκείνω πάσαν την περί αὐτών διαψήφισιν ακέραιου επιτρέπης, τυ οι τε αδικούντές τι έν πασι τοις όμοτίμοις έλεγχόμενοι κολάζωνται χωρίς τοῦ σοῦ φθόνου, καὶ οἱ άλλοι ταῦθ' ορώντες βελτίους γίγνωνται φύβω του μη και αύτοὶ έκδημοσιευθήναι.

"Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν ἀδικημάτων, περί ών οί τε νόμοι κείνται και αι κρίσεις αί κατ' αὐτούς γίγνονται, λέγω. τὸ γὰρ ὅτι τις έλοιδόρησέ σε ή καὶ έτερον τι άνεπιτήδειον είπε. μήτ' άκούσης ποτέ κατηγορούντός τινος μήτε 6 έπεξέλθης. αλοχρον μέν γάρ το πιστεύειν ότι τις μήτε τι άδικουντά σε και ευεργετούντα πάντας

¹ γίγνοιτο St., γίγνομνο VM.

dealings will have many to oppose them. In the s.c. 29 second place, you would do well to have all your legislation enacted by the senate, and to enforce no measure whatever upon all the people alike except the decrees of this body. In this way the dignity of the empire would be more securely established and the judgments rendered in accordance with the laws would instantly be free from all dispute or uncertainty in the eyes of all the people. In the third place, it would be well in the case of the members of the senatorial order who are actually members of the senate, their children, and their wives, if ever they are charged with a serious offence for which the penalty on conviction would be disfranchisement, exile, or even death, that you should bring the matter before the senate without prejudgment against the accused, and should commit to that body the entire decision uninfluenced by your opinion. The purpose of this is, that the guilty, thus tried by a jury consisting solely of their peers, may be punished without there being any resentment against you, and that the others, seeing this, may mend their ways through fear of being publicly pilloried themselves.

These suggestions have to do only with those offences regarding which laws have been established and judgments are rendered in accordance with these laws. For as to a charge that some one has vilified you or in some other way has used unseemly language regarding you, I would have you neither listen to the accuser nor follow up the accusation. For it is disgraceful for you to believe that any one has wantonly insulted you if you are indeed doing no

As distinguished from those of the senatorial order who have not yet gained admission to the senate.

προεπηλάκισε, καὶ μόνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κακῶς άρχοντες έκ γάρ του συνειδύτος και το πιστύν 7 των λεγομένων είρησθαι τεκμαίρουται δεινον δέ και το χαλεπαίνειν επί τοις τοιούτοις, α εί μεν άληθή είη, κρείττον έστι μή ποιείν, εί δε ψευδή. μη προσποιείσθαι, ώς πολλοί γε ήδη διά τούτου πολύ πλείω και χαλεπώτερα λογοποιείσθαι καθ' 8 έαυτών εποίησαν. περί μεν ούν τών λόγφ τι προπηλακίζειν αίτιαζομένων ταῦτ' έγω φρονώ. κρείττω τε γάρ και ύψηλότερου πάσης ύβρεως είναι σε χρή, και μηδ' èς εννοιών ποτε μήτ' αυτόν. άφικυείσθαι μήτε τους άλλους προώγειν ότι δύναταί τις ἀσελγάναί τι ές σέ, ἵν' ώς περί τῶν θεών, ούτω εκαί περί σου φρονώσιν ότι σεπτός ο εί. αν δε δή τις επιβουλεύειν σοι αίτιαν λάβη (γένοιτο γάρ αν τι καὶ τοιούτον), αυτός μέν μηδέ περί έκείνου τι μήτε δικάσης μήτε προδιαγνώς (άτοπου γάρ του αυτου και κατήγορου και δικαστην γίγνεσθαι), ύπο ε δε δη την βουλην αυτον άγαγων άπολογήσασθαί τε ποίησου, κάυ έλεγχθή. κόλασον μετριάσας ως ολόν τέ έστι το τιμώρημα, 10 ίνα καὶ πιστευθή τὸ ἀδίκημα. χαλεπώτατα γάρ. οί πολλοί πείθονται ότι τις άσπλος ών ἐπιβουλεύει το ώπλισμένο και μόνως άν ούτως αυτών τύχοις, εἰ μήτε πρὸς ὀργὴν μήτ' ἀνηκέστως, ἐψ' όσον γε καὶ ἐνδέχεται, την τιμωρίαν αὐτοῦ ποιοίο. λέγω δε ταύτα χωρίς ή εί τις στράτευμά τι έχων

wrong and are but conferring benefits upon all, and ac. it is only those who are ruling badly who believe such things; for they draw evidence from their own conscience of the credibility of the alleged slanders. And it is, furthermore, a dangerous thing even to show anger at such imputations (for if they are true, it were better not to be angry, and if they are false, it were better to pretend not to be angry). since many a man in times past has, by adopting this course, caused to be circulated against himself scandals far more numerous and more difficult to bear. This, then, is my advice concerning those who are accused of calumniating you; for you should be superior to any insult and too exalted to be reached by it, and you should never allow yourself even to imagine, or lead others to imagine, that it is possible for any one to treat you with contumely, since you desire that men shall think of you, as they do of the gods, that your sanctity is inviolable. If, however, any one is accused of plotting against you (and such a thing might also happen), refrain, in his case also, from either giving judgment yourself or prejudging the charge (for it is absurd that the same man should be both accuser and judge), but bring him before the senate and let him plead his defence there, and, if he is convicted, punish him, moderating the sentence as far as possible, in order that belief in his guilt may be fostered. For most men are very reluctant to believe that an unarmed man is plotting against one who is armed; and the only way you can win them to the bellef is by showing, so far as possible, neither resentment nor the desire to exact the utmost when you inflict the penalty. But I make an exception to this rule in

άντικρυς ἐπανασταίη οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτόν που προσήκευ, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίου μοίρα κολάζεσθαι.

- 32 "Ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτω, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν τῷ δημοσίῳ προσηκόντων, τῷ γερουσία ἀνατίθει τά τε γὰρ κοινὰ κοινῶς διοικεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ἔστι που πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔμφυτον καὶ τὸ χαίρειν ἐφ' οἶς ᾶν παρὰ τοῦ κρείττονος ὡς καὶ ἰσότιμοι αὐτῷ ὅντες ἀξιωθῶσι, καὶ τὸ πάντα τὰ μετὰ σφῶν τινι γνωσθέντα καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ὡς οἰκεῖα καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ὡς αὐθαίρετα.
 - 2 ές μέν οὖν τὸ βουλευτήριον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσφέρεσθαί φημι χρῆναι, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς παρόντας γνώμην διδόναι, ὅταν δὲ δὴ κατηγορῆταί τις αὐτῶν, μὴ πάντας, πλὴν ἄν τις ἡ μηδέπω βουλεύη ἡ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεταμιευκοσιν ἔτι ὧν κρίνηται, ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν
 - 3 τεταμιευκοσιν έτι ών κρίνηται. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν μηδέπω δεδημαρχηκότα ἡ ἡγορανομηκότα ψῆφον κατά τινος τῶν τοιούτων φέρειν, ἡ νὴ Δία τούτων τινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ἡ καὶ ἐκείνων κατὰ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, ἀλλὶ οὐτοι μὲν ἐπὶ πάντας τὴν τοῦ τι ἀποφήνασθαι ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτωσαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπί τε τοὺς ὁμοίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους.
- 33 "Δίκαζε δὲ καὶ αύτὸς ἰδία τά τε ἐφέσιμα καὶ τὰ ἀναπόμπιμα, ὅσα ἀν παρά τε τῶν μειζόνων 160

BOOK LII

the case of a commander of an army who openly are 29 revolts; for of course it is fitting that such an one should not be tried at all, but chastised as a public

enemy.

"These matters, then, should be referred by you to the senate, and also those others which are of the greatest importance to the state. For interests which are shared in common should be administered in common. Besides, it is doubtless a quality implanted by nature in all men that they take delight in any marks of esteem received from a superior which imply that they are his equals, and that they not only approve of all decisions made by another in consultation with themselves, as being their own decisions, but also submit to them as having been imposed by their own free choice. Therefore I say that such business ought to be brought before the senate. Furthermore, all the senators alike, that is, all who are present, should vote on all other matters; but when one of their own number is accused, not all of them should do so, unless the one who is on trial is not yet sitting as a senator or is still in the ranks of the ex-quaestors. For it is absurd that one who has not yet been a tribune or an aedile should east a vote against men who have held those offices, or, worse yet, that any one of the latter should vote against men who have been practors, or one of these last against men who have been consuls. Rather, let the ex-consuls alone have authority to render decisions in the case of all senators, and let the rest of the senators vote only in the cases of senators of a rank equal or inferior to their own.

"But do you judge by yourself alone the cases which come to you on appeal or reference from the higher

161

άρχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τοῦ τε πολιάρχου καὶ τοῦ ὑποτιμητοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων τοῦ τε τὸν σῖτον ἐπισκοποῦντος καὶ τοῦ νυκτοφυλακοῦντος, ἀφικνῆται μήτε γὰρ αὐτόδικος μήτ αὐτοτελής οῦτω τις τὸ παράπαν ἔστω ῶστε μὴ οῦκ ἐφἐσιμου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι. ταῦτά

- 2 οὐκ ἐφἐσιμον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δίκην γίγνεσθαι. ταῦτά τε οὖν κρῖνε,¹ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰππέων τῶν τε ἐκατοντάρχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου καὶ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὅταν περὶ θανατώσεως ἡ καὶ ἀτιμίας τινὸς ἀγωνίζωνται. σοὶ γὰρ δὴ² τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνω προσκείσθω, καὶ μηδεἰς ἄλλος περὶ αὐτῶν αὐτὸς καθ' ἐαυτόν, δὶ ἄπερ εἶπον. δικαζέτω.
- 3 μετά γάρ δή σοῦ ἀεὶ μὲν οἱ ἐντιμότατοι καὶ τῶν βαυλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐππέων, ήδη δὲ καὶ ἔτεροἱ τινες ἔκ τε τῶν ὑπατευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἄλλοι ἄλλοτε διαγγγνωσκέτωσαν, ἴνα σύ τε τοὺς τρόπους αὐτῶν ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τοὐτῷ προκαταμαυθάνων ὀρθῶς σφισιν ἔχης χρῆσβαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προσυγγιγνόμενοι τοῖς τε ήθεσι καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασί σου οὕτως ἐς τὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν
- 4 ήγεμονίας εξίωσι. τὰς μέντοι γνώμας αὐτῶν μή φανερῶς, ὅσαι γε καὶ ἐπισκέψεως ἀκριβεστέρας δέονται, διαπυνθάνου, ἵνα μή τοῖς προήκουσί σφων ἐφεπόμενοι κατοκνῶσι παρρησιάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς γραμματεῖα γραφομένας, οἰς αὐτὸς μόνος ἐντυχών, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδενὶ ἄλλφ ἐκδήλους αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς ἀπαλείφεσθαι κέλευε οῦτω γὰρ ἀν μάλιστα τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην διακρι-

¹ spire R. Stoph., spirm VM.

³ bh R. Steph., &c VM.

^{*} προσυγγεγεσμένω Χyl., προσσυγγεγεσμένου VM.

и ра M, om. V.

¹ προήκουσί ΕΚ., προσήκουσι VM.

officials and the procurators, from the prefect of the second city, the sub-censor, and from the prefects in charge respectively of the grain-supply and the night-watch.1 For none of these should have such absolute jurisdiction and final authority that an appeal cannot be made from him. Do you, therefore, pass upon these cases and those which involve knights and centurions recruited from the levies and the foremost private citizens, when they are defendants on a charge punishable by death or disfranchisement. For such cases should be committed to you alone, and for the reasons mentioned no one else should judge them solely upon his own responsibility. Indeed, in the rendering of decisions generally you should be brought into consultation, invariably by the senators and knights of highest rank and also, as occasion calls for one or another, by the other senators who are exconsuls and ex-practors, the object being twofold: that you on your part may first become more intimately acquainted with their characters and may then be able to put them to the right kind of employment, and that they, on their part, may first become familiar with your habits of mind and your plans before they go out to govern the provinces. Do not, however, ask for a public expression of their opinion on any matter that requires an unusually careful consideration, lest they hesitate to speak freely, since in giving their opinions they follow their superiors in rank; make them, rather, write their opinions on tablets. These you should read in private, that they may become known to no one else, and should then order the writing to be erased forthwith. For the best way for you to get at each man's

¹ Praefectus annovae and praefectus vigilum.

βώσειας, εἰ ἀνέλεγκτον αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πιστεύσειαν ἔσεσθαι.

- 5 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς δίκας τὰς τε ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τῶν πόλεων τὰς τε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν άξιώσεις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τῆ τῆς ἀρχῆς διοικήσει προσήκει, συνεργούς τέ τινας καὶ ὑπηρέτας ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων ἔχε· ῥᾶόν τε γὰρ οὕτως ὡς ἔκαστα διαχωρήσει, καὶ σὺ οὕτ' αὐτογνω-
- 6 μονών σφαλήση ούτ' αὐτουργών ἐκκαμῆ, τήν τε παρρησίαν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὁτιοῦν συμβουλεῦσαί σοι μετὰ ἀδείας νέμε· ἄν τε γὰρ ἀρεσθῆς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, πολλὰ ὡφελήση,¹ ἄν τε καὶ μὴ πεισθῆς, οὐδὲν βλαβήση.
- 7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν τυχόντας τῆς γνώμης καὶ ἐπαίνει καὶ τίμα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐξευρήμασιν αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσεις), τοὺς δ΄ ἀμαρτόντας μῆτ' ἀτιμάσης ποτὲ μῆτ' αἰτιάση τὴν γὰρ διάνοιαν αὐτῶν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτυχίαν μέμφεσθαι.
- 8 τὸ δ' αὐτό τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φύλαττε, καὶ μήτε ἐπὶ δυστυχία ἀκουσίο χαλεπήνης τινὶ μήτε ἐπ' εὐτυχία φθονήσης, ἴνα καὶ προθύμως καὶ ήδέως πάντες ὑπὲρ σοῦ κινδυνεύωσι, πιστεύοντες ὅτι οὕτε πταίσαντές τι κολασθήσονται υ οὕτε κατορθώσαντες ἐπιβουλευθήσονται, πολλοὶ
- 9 ούτε κατορθώσαντες ἐπιβουλευθήσονται. πολλοί γοῦν τὸν παρὰ τῶν τὸ κράτος ἐχόντων φθώνον

ι ώφελήση R. Stoph., ώφελήσει VM, ώφεληθήση flur.

precise opinion would be to give him the certainty are so that his vote cannot be detected among the rest.

"Moreover, for your judicial work and your correspondence, to help you attend to the decrees of the states and the petitions of private individuals, and for all other business which belongs to the administration of the empire, you must have men chosen from the knights to be your helpers and assistants. For all the details of administration will move along more easily in this way, and you will neither err through relying upon your own judgment nor become exhausted through relying upon your own efforts. Grant to every one who wishes to offer you advice, on any matter whatever, the right to speak freely and without fear of the consequences; for if you are pleased with what he says you will be greatly benefited, and if you are not convinced it will do you no harm. Those who win your favourable opinion for their suggestions you should both commend and honour, since you yourself will gain credit through their discoveries; but do not treat with disrespect or criticise those who fail of your approval, since it is their intentions that you should consider, and their lack of success should not call forth your censure. Guard against this same mistake in matters of warfare, also; give way neither to anger against a man for an unintentional misfortune nor to jealousy for a piece of good fortune, that all may zealously and gladly incur danger for your sake, confident that if they meet with any reverse they will not be punished for it and that if they gain success they will not have snares laid for them. There have been many, at any rate, who through fear of jealousy on the

φοβούμενοι σφαλήναί τι μάλλον ή καταπράξαι προείλουτο, κάκ τούτου το μεν άσφαλες αυτοί έσχον, το δε δή ζημίωμα εκείνοις προσετρίψαντο. ώστε αυτος το πλείον άπ άμφοτέρων ομοίως και των χειρόνων και των άμεινονων άπολαύσων, μηδέποτ έθελήσης λόγφ μεν άλλοις έργφ

δέ σαυτώ φθονήσαι. " Πάνθ' όσα τους άρχομένους και φρονείν και 34 πράττειν βούλει, και λέγε και ποίει. ούτω γάρ άν μάλλον παιδεύσειας αὐτούς ή ταίς έκ τών νόμων τιμωρίαις 2 δειματώσειας το μέν γάρ ζήλον το δε φόβου έχει, και ράου τις μιμείται τά κρείττω, ορών έργω γιγνόμενα, ή φυλάττεται τὰ 2 χείρω, ακούων λόγω κεκωλυμένα. καὶ αὐτὸς μέν άκριβώς πάντα πράττε, μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην σεαυτώ 3 νέμων, ώστε καὶ εὐ είδως ὅτι παραγρήμα πάντες και όσα αν είπης και όσα αν ποιήσης μαθήσονται. καθάπερ γάρ έν ένι τινι της όλης οίκουμένης θεάτρος ζήση, και ούχ οίον τέ σοι έσται οὐδὲ βραχύτατον άμαρτύντι δια-3 λαθείν ούτε γάρ κατά μόνας ποτέ άλλά καί μετά συχνών ἀεί τι πράξεις, και πολυπραγμονούσι πως τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων γιγνόμενα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ήδιστα, ώστ' αν άπαξ καταμάθωσί σε άλλα μεν αύτοις προαγορεύοντα άλλα δε αυτον ποιούντα, ου τὰς ἀπειλάς σου φοβηθή-

σονται * άλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται.
4 "Τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων βίον ἐπισκόπει μέν, μὴ μέντοι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐξέταζε, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἄν ὑφ'

^{1 3}h M. om. V flor. * remoplars flor., om. VM. * creave flor. B, sacry VM flor. A.

^{*} συσυτή flot. Β, έσωτή VM flot. Α. * φοβηθήσονται VM, φοβήσονται flot.

part of those in power have chosen to accept defeat n.c. 29 rather than achieve success, and as a result have gained safety for themselves while inflicting the loss upon their rulers. Therefore, since you yourself stand to reap the major part of the fruits of both outcomes, the failures as well as the successes, you should never consent to become jealous, nominally of others, but really of yourself.

"Whatever you wish your subjects to think and do, this you should always say and do yourself. In this way you will be educating them, rather than intimidating them through the punishments prescribed by the laws. The former policy inspires zeal, the latter fear; and one finds it easier to imitate that which is good when he sees it actually practised than to avoid that which is evil when he hears it forbidden by mere words. Be scrapulous yourself in all your actions, showing no mercy to yourself, in the full assurance that all men will forthwith learn of whatever you say or do. For you will live as it were in a theatre in which the spectators are the whole world; and it will not be possible for you to escape detection if you make even the most trivial mistake. Indeed, you will never be alone, but always in the company of many when you do anything; and since the remainder of mankind somehow take the keenest delight in prying into

threats they will imitate your actions.

"You should, of course, supervise the lives of your subjects, but do not scrutinise them with too much rigour. Sit in judgment upon all offences reported

the conduct of their rulers, if once they ascertain that you are recommending to them one course but are yourself taking another, instead of fearing your

έτέρων τινών εσάγηται, κρίνε, όσα δ' άν ύπο μηδενός αλτιάζηται, μηδέ προσποιού είδέναι, έξω 5 των ές το δημόσιον πλημμελουμένων, ταύτα μέν γάρ της προσηκούσης έπιστροφής, κάν μηδείς έγκαλή, τυγχάνειν όφείλει τὰ δὲ άλλα τὰ ίδιωτικά ίσθι μέν, ίνα μή καί τοφαλής ποτε άνεπιτηδείω τινί ύπηρέτη πρός τι χρησάμενος, 6 μή μέντοι καὶ ἐξέλεγχε. πολλά γάρ ή φύσις καὶ παρά τον νόμον πολλούς αμαρτάνειν έξάγει, οίς άν μεν άκριβώς τις επεξίη, ή τινα η οὐδένα άν αύτων ατιμώρητον καταλίποι, αν δ' ανθρωπίνως το έπιεικές τω νενομισμένω παραμιγνύη, τάν άν ται σωφρονίσειεν αύτούς, ο μεν γάρ νόμος, καίτοι ίσχυρα τὰ κολάσματα άναγκαίως ποιού. μενος, ού δύναται της φύσεως αξί κρατείν των δ' άνθρώπων τινές λανθάνειν μεν δόξαντες ή και μετρίως πως νουθετηθέντες άμείνους γίγνονται, οί μέν αίσχυνόμενοι έλεγχθήναι οί δε αίδούμενοι ε πάλιν σφαλήναι, φανερωθέντες δε και άπερυθριάσαντες ή και πέρα του μετρίου κολασθέντες τά τε νενομισμένα πάντα συγχίουσι και καταπατούσι. και μόναις ταις της φύσεως όρμαις δουλεύουσι. κάκ τούτου ούτε το πάντας αυτούς κολάζειν ράδιον, ούτε τὸ περιοράν φανερώς τινας ἀσελγαίνοντας εύπρεπές γίγνεται,

"Τὰ μεν δη οδυ άμαρτήματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦτόν σοι τὸν τρόπου, πλην τῶν πάνυ ἀνηκέστων.

¹ πρίτε R. Steph., πρίται VM. 2 μή και M, και μή V.

to you by others, but act as if you were not even un m aware of offences concerning which no one has made accusation-except in the case of trespasses against the public interest. These ought, of course, to receive proper attention, even if no one files a charge : but as to private shortcomings, while you should indeed have knowledge of them, in order that you may avoid making a mistake some day by employing an unsuitable person as your agent in some matter, yet you should not go so far as to convict those who are guilty of them. For human nature often tempts men to commit many a violation of the law, and if you were to prosecute such offences rigorously, you would leave unpunished few or none of the offenders; but if in a kindly spirit you mix reasonableness with the prescriptions of the law, you may succeed in bringing the offenders to their senses. you know, though it of necessity makes its punishments severe, cannot always conquer nature. And so in the case of some men, if they think that their sins have not been discovered, or if they have been reproved but not unduly, they reform, either because they feel disgraced at having been found out. or because their self-respect keeps them from falling again; whereas, if they have been publicly exposed and have lost all sense of shame, or have been chastised unduly, they overturn and trample under foot all the conventions of the law and become wholly slaves to the impulses of nature. it is neither easy to punish offenders invariably in all cases nor is it seemly to allow them in particular cases to flaunt their wickedness openly.

"Now this is the way I advise you to deal with men's shortcomings, with the exception of those

μεταχειρίζεσθαι παραινώ, τὰ δ΄ ὀρθῶς ὑπ΄ αὐτῶν γιγνομενα καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων τιμᾶν οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μάλιστα ποιήσειας αὐτοὺς τῶν τε χειρόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, τῷ φιλανθρωπία, καὶ τῶν βελτιόνων ἐφίεσθαι, τῷ μεγαλοδωρία. μὴ γὰρ τοι καταδείσης μήθ΄ ὅτι ἐπιλείψει σέ ποτε ἡ χρήματα ἡ τἄλλα οἶς τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἀμείψη (πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἔγωγε ἐλάττους αὐτῶν τοὺς εὖ τι παθεῖν ἀξίους οἶμαι γενήσεσθαι, τοσαύτης σοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντος), μήθ΄ ὅτι τινὲς 11 εὐεργετηθέντες ἀχαρίστως τι πράξουσιν οὐδὲν γὰρ οῦτω καὶ δουλοῖ καὶ οἰκειοῦταί τινα, κᾶν ἀλλότριος κᾶν ἐχθρὸς ῶν τύχη, ὡς τὸ μήτ΄ ἀδικεῖ-

σθαι και προσέτι και ευ πάσχειν.

" Προς μέν ούν τους άλλους ούτω σοι προσφέ-35 ρεσθαι γνώμην δίδωμι σαυτώ δε δη μήτε εξαλλών τι μήθ' ύπερήφανον μήτε παρά των άλλων μήτε παρά της βουλής ή έργω ή και λόγω δοθέν περι-2 ίδης, τοίς μεν γαρ άλλοις κόσμον ή παρά σού τιμή φέρει, σοί δ' αύτω μείζου μέν των υπαρχόντων ούδεν αν δοθείη, υποψία δ' αν κιβδηλίας πολλή προσγένοιτο καὶ γάρ τοι τῶν μὲν άλλων ούδεις έκων τοιούτο τι τω κρατούντι ψηφίζεσθαι δοκεί, πάντα δὲ δή τις αὐτὰ αὐτὸς παρ ἐαυτοῦ λαμβάνων ούγ όσον ούκ έπαινου ίσχει, άλλα καί 3 γέλωτα προσοφλισκάνει. τήν τε ούν άλλην λαμπρότητα σαυτώ διά των άγαθών έργων παρασκεύαζε, και είκουας σου χρυσάς μέν ή και άργυρας μηδέποτε έπιτρέψης γενέσθαι (οὐ γάρ μόνον δαπανηραί άλλα και εύεπιβούλευτοι και

¹ oanry R. Stoph., Janry VM.

persons who are utterly incorrigible; and you should at a honour their good actions even beyond the merits of the deeds themselves. For you can best induce men to refrain from evil ways by kindness, and to desire better ways by liberality. You need have no fear that you will ever lack either money or the other means of rewarding those who do good deeds. On the contrary, I fancy that those who will deserve your favours will prove far too few, seeing that you hold empire over so vast an extent of land and sea. Nor need you fear that any who have received your benefactions will ever act ungratefully; for nothing so captivates and conciliates a man, be he foreigner or foe, as being not only the object of no wrongs

but, in addition, the recipient of kindness.

" As regards your subjects, then, you should so conduct yourself, in my opinion. So far as you yourself are concerned, permit no exceptional or prodigal distinction to be given you, through word or deed, either by the senate or by any one else. For whereas the honour which you confer upon others lends glory to them, yet nothing can be given to you that is greater than what you already possess, and, besides, no little suspicion of insincerity would attach to its giving. No subject, you see, is ever supposed to vote any such distinction to his ruler of his own free will, and since all such honours as a ruler receives he must receive from himself, he not only wins no commendation for the honour but becomes a laughing-stock besides. You must therefore depend upon your good deeds to provide for you any additional splendour. And you should never permit gold or silver images of yourself to be made, for they are not only costly but also invite

όλυγοχρόνιοί είσιν), ἄλλας δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀκηράτους καὶ ἀθανάτους 4 ἐξ εὐεργεσιῶν δημιούργει. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ ναόν ποτε περιίδης σαυτῷ γενόμενον. μάτην γὰρ παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναλίσκεται, ἃ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἐς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανᾶσθαι (πλοῦτος γὰρ ἀκριβὴς οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ ἀναλίσκειν άθροίζεται), καὶ ἐς εὕκλειαν οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν προσγί-

5 γνεται. ἀρετὴ μὲν γὰρ ἰσοθέους πολλοὺς ποιεῖ, χειροτενητὸς δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε θεὸς ἐγένετο, ὥστε σοὶ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τε ὄντι καὶ καλῶς ἄρχοντι πᾶσα μὲν γῆ τεμένισμα ἔσται, πᾶσαι δὲ πόλεις ναοί,¹ πάντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀγάλματα (ἐν γὰρ ταῖς γνώ-

6 μαις αὐτῶν ἀεὶ μετ' εὐδοξίας ἐνιδρυθήση), τοὺς δ' ἄλλως πως τὰ κράτη διέποντας οὐ μόνον οὐ σεμνύνει τὰ τοιαῦτα, κᾶν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξαιρεθŷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιαβάλλει, τρόπαιά τέ τινα τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν καὶ μνημεῖα τῆς ἀδικίας γυγνόμενα· ὅσῷ γὰρ ἀν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀνταρκέση, τοσούτῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἡ κακοδοξία αὐτῶν διαμένει.

36 ωστ' είπερ άθάνατος όντως ἐπιθυμείς γενέσθαι, ταθτά τε οθτω πράττε, καὶ προσέτι τὸ μὲν θεῖον πάντη πάντως αὐτός τε σέβου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμῶν ἀνάγκαζε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ ξενί-2 ζοντάς τι περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ μίσει καὶ κόλαζε, μὸ

2 ζοντάς τι περί αυτό και μίσει και κόλαζε, μη μόνον τών θεών ένεκα, ων 62 καταφρονήσας ουδ

1 vani M, om. V. 4 & supplied by St.

destruction and last only a brief time; but rather seems by your benefications fashion other images in the hearts of your people, images which will never tarnish or perish. Neither should you ever permit the raising of a temple to you; for the expenditure of vast sums of money on such objects is sheer waste. This money would better be used for necessary objects; for wealth which is really wealth is gathered, not so much by getting largely, as by saving largely. Then, again, from temples comes no enhancement of one's glory. For it is virtue that raises many men to the level of gods, and no man ever became a god by popular vote. Hence, if you are upright as a man and honourable as a ruler, the whole earth will be your hallowed precinet, all cities your temples, and all men your statues, since within their thoughts you will ever be enshrined and glorified. As for those, on the contrary, who administer their realms in any other way, such honours not only do not lend holiness to them, even though shrines are set apart for them in all their cities, but even bring a greater reproach upon them, becoming, as it were, trophies of their baseness and memorials of their injustice; for the longer these temples last, the longer abides the memory of their infamy. Therefore, if you desire to become in very truth immortal, act as I advise; and, furthermore, do you not only yourself worship the Divine Power everywhere and in every way in accordance with the traditions of our fathers, but compel all others to honour it. Those who attempt to distort our religion with strange rites you should abhor and punish, not merely for the sake of the gods (since if a man despises these he will not pay

άλλου αν τινος προτιμήσειεν, άλλ' ότι και καινά τινα δαιμόνια οί τοιούτοι άντεσφέροντες πολλούς άναπείθουσιν άλλοτριονομείν, κάκ τούτου καί συνωμοσίαι και συστάσεις έταιρειαί τε γύγνονται, άπερ ήκιστα μοναρχία συμφέρει. μήτ' οδυ άθέφ 3 τινί μήτε γόητι συγχωρήσης είναι. μαυτική μέν γάρ άναγκαία έστί, καὶ πάντως τινάς καὶ ἰερόπτας καὶ οιωνιστάς ἀπόδειξου, οίς οι βουλόμενοί τι κοινώσασθαι συνέσονται τούς δε δή μαγευτάς πάνυ ούκ είναι προσήκει. πολλούς γάρ πολλάκις οί τοιούτοι, τὰ μέν τινα άληθη τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω 4 ψευδή λέγοντες, νεογμούν ἐπαίρουσι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τούτο και των φιλοσοφείν προσποιουμένων ούκ ολίγοι δρώσε διὸ καὶ ἐκείνους φυλάσσεσθαί σοι παραινώ, μη γάρ ότι καὶ Αρείου καὶ Αθηνοδώρου καλών και άγαθών άνδρών πεπείρασαι, πίστενε καὶ τοὺς άλλους πάντας τοὺς φιλοσοφείν λέγοντας όμοίους αὐτοῖς είναι μυρία γὰρ κακὰ καὶ δήμους καὶ ίδιώτας το πρόσγημά τινες τούτο

37 "Τη μέν οὖν γνώμη καὶ τῷ μηδενὸς πλείονος τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναί σε χρή, ταῖς δὲ παρασκευαῖς πολεμικώτατον, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν μήτε ἐθελήση μήτε ἐπιχειρήση τις ἀδικῆσαί σε, εἰ δὲ μή, ῥαδίως καὶ παραχρῆμα ναλασθῆ. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι καὶ διὰ

προβαλλόμενοι δρώσι.

2 κολασθή. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἀναγκαῖον ἐστι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τάλλα καὶ ὡτακουστεῖν τινας καὶ διοπτεύειν πάντα τὰ τἢ ἡγεμονία σου προσήκοντα, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ψυλακής τινος καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως honour to any other being), but because such men, ac z by bringing in new divinities in place of the old, persuade many to adopt foreign practices, from which spring up conspiracies, factions, and cabals, which are far from profitable to a monarchy. Do not, therefore, permit anybody to be an atheist or a sorecrer. Soothsaving, to be sure, is a necessary art, and you should by all means appoint some men to be diviners and augurs, to whom those will resort who wish to consult them on any matter; but there ought to be no workers in magic at all. For such men, by speaking the truth sometimes, but generally falsehood, often encourage a great many to attempt revolutions. The same thing is done also by many who pretend to be philosophers; hence I advise you to be on your guard against them, too. Do not, because you have had experience of good and honourable men like Areius and Athenodorus,1 believe that all the rest who claim to be philosophers are like them; for infinite harm, both to communities and to individuals, is worked by certain men who but use this profession as a screen.

"Now you should be wholly inclined to peace, so far as your purpose is concerned and your desire for nothing more than you now possess, but as regards your military preparations you should be distinctly warlike, in order that, if possible, no one may either wish or attempt to wrong you, but if he should, that he may be punished easily and instantly. And inasmuch as it is necessary, for these and other reasons, that there shall be persons who are to keep eyes and ears open to anything which affects your imperial position, in order that you may not be unaware of

For Areius see li. 16, 4; for Athenodorus, lvi. 43, 2

δεομένων άγνοῆς, μέμνησα ὅτι οὐ χρη πᾶσιν άπλῶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν πιστεύειν, ἀλλ'

- 3 ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ διασκοπεῖν. συχνοὶ γάρ, οἱ μὲν μισοῦντές τινας, οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὡν ἔχουσιν, ἄλλοι χρήματα αἰτήσαντές τινας καὶ μὴ λαβόντες, ἐπηρεάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ὡς νεωτερίζοντας ἡ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀνεπιτήδειον κατὰ τοῦ αὐταρχοῦντος ἡ φρονοῦντας ἡ
- 4 λέγοντας. οὔκουν εὐθὺς οὐδὲ ραδίως προσέχειν αὐτοῖς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντα διελέγχειν βραδύνας μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πιστεῦσαί τινα οὐδὲν μέγα ἀδικηθήση, σπεύσας δὲ τάχ ἄν τι καὶ ἐξαμάρτοις, ὁ μὴ δυνηθήση ἀνακέσασθαι.
- 5 "Τιμάν μέν οὖν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνόντων σοι καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖών ἐστι καὶ γὰρ κώσμον καὶ ἀσφάλειάν σοι μεγάλην τοῦτο οἴσει. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑπέρογκών τι ἰσχυέτωσαν, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς πάντες σωφρονείτωσαν, ῶστε σε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν
- κ διαβληθήναι πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ἄν ἡ καλῶς ἡ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοὶ προστεθήσεται, καὶ τοιοῦτος αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἀπάντων νομισθήση ὁποῖα ἄν ἐκείνοις ποιεῖν ἐπιτρέπης.

"Τοὺς μὲν δη οὖν δυνατοὺς μη πλεονεκτεῖν τινα μηδὲ αὖ συκοφαντεῖσθαι ἔα: μηδὲ ἔστω τινὶ αὐτῶν 176

any situation that requires measures of precaution or a.c. 29 correction, you should have such agents, but remember that you should not believe absolutely everything they say, but should carefully investigate their reports. For there are many who, from various motives, -either because they hate others or covet their possessions, or because they want to do a favour to some one else, or because they have demanded money from some one and have not obtained it,-bring false charges against the persons concerned, pretending that they are engaged in sedition or are planning or saying something prejudicial to the ruler. Therefore one ought not to give heed to them forthwith or readily, but rather should prove everything they say. For if you are too slow in placing your trust in one of these men, you will suffer no great harm, but if you are too hasty you may possibly make a mistake which you cannot repair.

"Now it is both right and necessary for you to honour the good who are associated with you, both your freedmen and the rest; for this course will bring you credit and a large measure of security. They should not, however, acquire excessive power, but should all be rigorously kept under discipline, so that you shall never be brought into discredit by them. For everything they do, whether good or ill, will be set to your account, and you will yourself be considered by the world to be of a character akin to the conduct which you do not object to in them.

"As regards the men of power and influence, then, you should not permit them to overreach others, nor yet, on the other hand, to be blackmailed by others; neither let the mere fact that a man

177

αὐτὸ ¹ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα, ὅτι δύναται, κὰν μηδὲν 7 ἀμαρτάνη. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολλοῖς ἄμυνε μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἀδικουμένοις, μὴ πρόσεχε δὲ ῥαδίως αἰτιωμένοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα καθ' ἰαυτὰ ἐξέταζε, μήτε ἐς τὸ προέχον πῶν ὑποπτεύων μήτε τῷ 8 καταδεεστέρῳ παντὶ πιστεύων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐργαζομένους χρήσιμόν τέ τι τεχνωμένους τίμα, τοὺς δ' ἀργοῦντας ἡ καὶ φλαῦρόν τι πραγματευομένους μίσει, ἵνα τῶν μὲν διὰ τὰς ὡφελίας ὀρυγνώμενοι, τῶν δὲ διὰ τὰς ζημίας ἀπεχόμενοι, πρός τε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀμείνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ συμφορώ-

υ "Καλόν μέν σύν έστι καὶ τὸ τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμφισβητήματα ὡς ἐλάχιστα ποιοῦντα τὰς διαλύσεις αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα καθιστάναι, κάλλιστον δὲ τὰ τὰς τῶν δήμων ὁρμὰς κολούειν, κάν ἐπευχό-

τεροί σοι γίγνωνται.

μενοί τινα τῆ τε ἀρχῆ καὶ τῆ σωτηρία τῆ τε τύχη σου ἐκβιάζεσθαί τινας ἡ πράξαι τι ἡ ἀναλῶσαι

10 παρὰ δύναμιν ἐπιχειρῶσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, τάς τε ἔχθρας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς φιλοτιμίας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτειν, καὶ μήτε ἐπωτυμίας τινὰς κενὰς μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἐξ οὐ διενεχθήσανταὶ τισιν ἐφιέναι σφίσι ποιεῖσθαι. ῥαδίως δέ σοι πάντες καὶ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῆ πειθαργήσουσιν, ἀν μηδὲν παρὰ ταῦτα

possesses power be imputed to him as a crime even ac # though he commit no offence. But in the case of the masses, vindicate them vigorously when they are wronged and be not too ready to give heed to accusations against them; but make the accused persons' actions alone and by themselves the object of your scrutiny, neither harbouring suspicion against whatever is superior nor placing your trust in whatever is inferior. Honour those who are diligent and those who by their skill devise something useful, but abhor those who are slothful or who busy themselves with trivial things, in order that your subjects, cleaving to the former by reason of your emoluments and holding themselves aloof from the latter by reason of your punishments, may become, as you desire, more competent in respect to their private affairs and more serviceable in respect to the interests of the state.

"It is well to make the number of disputes on the part of private citizens as few as possible and to render as expeditious as possible their settlement; but it is most important to restrain the rash enterprises of communities, and if they are attempting to coerce others or to go beyond their capacity or means in any undertaking or expenditure, to forbid it, even though in their petitions they invoke blessings upon the empire and pray for your welfare and good fortune. It is important also to cradicate their mutual enmities and rivalries, and not to permit them to assume empty titles or to do anything else that will bring them into strife with others. And all will readily yield obedience to you, both individuals and communities, in this and in every other matter, provided that you make no exceptions

μηδέποτε συγγωρήσης τωί 1 ή γαρ ανωμαλία καὶ 11 τὰ καλώς πεπηγότα διαλύει. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ οὐδ' αίτειν τι άρχήν, δ γε μη δώσεις, έπιτρέπειν σφίσιν οφείλεις, άλλα και αυτό τούτο πρώτον Ισγυρώς φυλάττειν σφάς άναγκάζειν, το μηδέν άξιούν τών

κεκωλυμένων.

38 "Ταύτα μέν περί ἐκείνων λέγω, καθ' ἀπάντων δέ σοι συμβουλεύω μήτ' άποχρήσασθαί ποτε τή έξουσία, μήτ' οἰηθήναι μείωσίν τινα αυτής είναι αν μη πάντα άπαξαπλώς όσα δύνασαι καὶ ποιήσης: άλλ' όσω μάλλον πάνθ' όσα άν βουληθής καί δυνήση πράξαι, τόσω μάλλον προθυμού πάνθ' 2 όσα προσήκει βούλεσθαι. και άεί γε αυτός παρά σαυτώ έξεταζε, είτε όρθώς τι ποιείς είτε καί μή, τί τε πράττοντά σε φιλήσουσί τίνες καὶ τί μή, ίνα τὰ μέν ποιής αὐτών τὰ δέ ἐκκλίνης. μη γαρ δη ήγηση " δεόντως τι παρά τούτο πρώττειν δόξειν, αν μηδενός αιτιωμένου σε άκούσης. μηδ' άναμείνης ούτω τινά έκφρονήσαί ποτε ώστε 3 σοι φανερώς τι έξονειδίσαι. τούτο μέν γάρ ούδείς αν ποιήσειεν, ούδ' εί σφόδρα άδικηθείη παν γάρ τουναντίον και έπαινείν πολλοί έν γε τώ φανερώ τους άδικουντάς σφας άναγκάζονται. ανταγωνιζόμενοι μη δοκείν οργίζεσθαι. τον δ' άργουτα χρη μη έξ ων λέγουσί τινες τεκμαίρεσθαι την διάνοιαν αυτών, άλλ' έξ ών φρονείν αύτοὺς εἰκός ἐστι.

39 "Ταυτά σε και τα τοιαυτα βούλομαι πράττειν"

1 vir R. Steph., v. VM. 2 35 57509 M. dayfon V.

whatever to this rule as a concession to anybody; an exfor the uneven application of laws nullifies even those which are well established. Consequently you ought not to allow your subjects even to ask you, in the first place, for what you are not going to give them, but should compel them strenuously to avoid at the outset this very practice of peti-

tioning for what is prohibited.

"So much for these things. And I counsel you never to make full use of your power against your subjects as a body, nor to consider it any curtailment of your power if you do not actually put into effect all the measures you are in a position to enforce; but the greater your ability to do all you desire, the more eager you should be to desire in all things only what it is fitting you should desire. Always question your own heart in private whether it is right or not to do a given thing, and what you should do or refrain from doing to cause men to love you, with the purpose of doing the one and avoiding the other. For do not imagine that men will think you are doing your duty if only you hear no word of censure passed upon you; neither must you expect that any man will so abandon his senses as to reproach you openly for anything you do. No one will do this, no matter how flagrantly he has been wronged; on the contrary, many are compelled even to commend their oppressors in public, though they must struggle to keep from showing their resentment. But the ruler must get at the disposition of his subjects, not by what they say, but by what they in all likelihood think.

"These are the things I would have you do-these and others of like nature; for there are many which

πολλά γάρ και παραλείπω διά το μη οίον τε είναι πάντα αυτά καθάπαξ συλλαβόντα είπειν. εν δ' ούν έν κεφαλαίω και κατά των είρημένων και 2 κατά τῶν λοιπῶν Φράσω. ἀν γὰρ ὅσα ἀν ἔτερον τινα άρξαντά σου ποιείν έθελήσης, ταθτα αθτός αὐτεπάγγελτος πράσσης, οὕτε τι άμαρτήση καὶ πάντα κατορθώσεις, κάκ τούτου καλ ήδιστα καλ 3 ακινδυνότατα βιώση. πώς μεν γάρ ούχ ώς πατέρα, πώς δ' ούχ ώς σωτήρα και προσύψονταί σε άπαντες καὶ φιλήσουσιν, όταν σε όρωσι κόσμιον εθβίοτον εθπόλεμον εξρηναΐον όντα, όταν μήθ' ύβρίζης τι μήτε πλεονεκτής, όταν έκ του 4 όμοίου σφίσι προσφέρη, καὶ μη αυτός μεν πλουτής τους δ' άλλους άργυρολογής, μηδ' αυτός μέν τρυφάς τούς δ' άλλους ταλαιπωρής, μηδ' αύτος μέν ἀκολασταίνης τους δ' άλλους νουθετής. άλλ' ές πάντα δή πάντως όμοιοτροπώτατα αύτοις ζης; ώστ' αὐτὸς παρά σαυτώ μέγα φυλακτήριου έν τω μηδένα ποτε άδικήσαι έχων θάρσει, καὶ πίστενέ μοι λέγοντι ότι ούτε μισηθήση ποτέ ούτε 5 έπιβουλευθήση, τούτου δέ δή ούτως έχουτος πάσά σε ανάγκη και ήδέως βιώναι τί μεν γαρ ήδιον, τί δὲ εὐδαιμονέστερον έστι τοῦ πάντων τῶν έν άνθρώποις άγαθών μετ' άρετης άπολαύοντα και τοις άλλοις αυτά διδόναι δύνασθαι:

"Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα πάνθ' ὅσα εἴρηκα ἐν-40 νοήσας πείσθητί μοι, καὶ μὴ πρόη τὴν τύγην, ήτις σε έκ πάντων ἐπελέξατο καὶ προεστήσατο, ώς

I must pass over, since it is impossible to include ac. 29 them all in a single discussion. There is, however, one statement which will serve as a summary with respect both to what has been said and to what has been left unsaid: if you of your own accord do all that you would wish another to do if he became your ruler, you will err in nothing and succeed in everything, and in consequence you will find your life most happy and utterly free from danger. For how can men help regarding you with affection as father and saviour, when they see that you are orderly and upright in your life, successful in war though inelined to peace; when you refrain from insolence and greed; when you meet them on a footing of equality, do not grow rich yourself while levying tribute on them, do not live in luxury yourself while imposing hardships upon them, are not licentious yourself while reproving licentiousness in them, -when, instead of all this, your life is in every way and manner precisely like theirs? Therefore, since you have in your own hands a mighty means of protection,-that you never do wrong to another, - be of good courage and believe me when I tell you that you will never become the object of hatred or of conspiracy. And since this is so, it follows of necessity that you will also lead a happy life; for what condition is happier, what more blissful, than, possessing virtue, to enjoy all the blessings which men can know and to be able to bestow them upon others?

"Think upon these things and upon all that I have told you, and be persuaded of me, and let not this fortune slip which has chosen you from all mankind and has set you up as their ruler. For, if you

εί γε το μέν πράγμα το της μοναρχίας αιρή, το δ' ονομα το της βασιλείας ως και επάρατον φοβή. τούτο μέν μη προσλάβης, τη δέ δη του Καίσαρος 2 προσηγορία χρώμενος αυτάρχει. εί δ' ούν καὶ άλλων τινών επικλήσεων προσδέη, δώσουσε μέν σοι την του αυτοκράτορος, ώσπερ και τῷ πατρί σου έδωκαν, σεβιούσι δέ σε και έτέρα τινί προσρήσει, ώστε σε παν το της βασιλείας έργον άνευ τοῦ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας αὐτῆς ἐπιφθόνου καρποῦσθαι."

47 Μαικήνας μέν ταύτα είπων έπαύσατο, ο δε δή Καίσαρ άμφοτέρους μέν σφας και έπι τη πολυνοία καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ πολυλογία τη τε παρρησία Ισχυρώς έπήνεσε, τὰ δὲ δή τοῦ Μαικήνου μάλλον είλετο. ού μέντοι καὶ πάντα εύθύς ώσπερ ύπετέθειτο έπραξε, φοβηθείς μη καὶ σφαλή τι, άθροως

2 μεταρρυθμίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθελήσας ἀλλά τὰ μέν παραχρήμα μετεκόσμησε τὰ δ' ὕστερον, καί τινα καὶ τοις μετά ταθτα άρξουσι ποιήσαι κατέλιπεν ώς καὶ κατά καιρον μάλλον έν τώ χρόνω γενησόμενα. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ᾿Αγρίππας πρός πάντα, καίπερ την εναντίαν σφίσι γνώμην δούς, προθυμότατα συνήρατο, ώσπερ αν εί και έσηγητής αὐτών έγεγόνει.

3 Ταῦτά τε ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἱ ὅσα ἄνω μοι τοῦ λόγου είρηται, επραξεν έν τῷ έτει έκείνω έν ο το πέμπτου υπάτευσε, και την του αυτοκρά-

¹ d Kaisap sal R. Steph., sal d Kaisap VM.

A reference to the title of "Augustus," The Greek verb sellifer, here rendered by this long phrase for the sake 184

prefer the monarchy in fact but fear the title of access 'king' as being accursed, you have but to decline this title and still be sole ruler under the appellation of 'Caesar.' And if you require still other epithets, your people will give you that of 'imperator' as they gave it to your father; and they will pay reverence to your august position to by still another term of address, so that you will enjoy fully the reality of the kingship without the odium which attaches to the name of 'king.'"

Maccenas thus brought his speech to an end. And Caesar heartily commended both him and Agrippa for the wealth of their ideas and of their arguments and also for their frankness in expressing them; but he preferred to adopt the advice of Maccenas. He did not, however, immediately put into effect all his suggestions, fearing to meet with failure at some point if he purposed to change the ways of all mankind at a stroke; but he introduced some reforms at the moment and some at a later time, leaving still others for those to effect who should subsequently hold the principate, in the belief that as time passed a better opportunity would be found to put these last into operation. And Agrippa, also, although he had advised against these policies, cooperated with Caesar most zealously in respect to all of them, just as if he had himself proposed them.

These and all the rest that I have recorded earlier in this narrative were the acts of Caesar in the year in which he was consul for the fifth time; and he of the word-play, is from the same root as \$\mathbb{Z} \tilde{\mathbb{E}} \mathbb{B} \mathbb{E} \sigma \tilde{\mathbb{T}} \tilde{\mathbb{E}} \mathbb{E} \mathbb{E}

generally refers to Augustus as Caesar.

τορος ἐπίκλησιν ἐπέθετο. λέγω δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖου διδομένην τισίν (ἐκείνην γὰρ πολλάκις μὲν καὶ πρότερου πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὕστερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἔλαβεν, 4 ὥστε καὶ ἄπαξ καὶ εἰκοσάκις ἱ ὄνομα αὐτοκρατορος σχεῖν) ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐτέραν τὴν τὸ κράτος διασημαίνουσαν, ὥσπερ τῷ τε πατρὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς τε ἐκγόνοις ἐ

έψήφιστο.

42 Kal μετά ταθτα τιμητεύσας σύν τῷ 'Αγρίππα άλλα τέ τινα διώρθωσε καὶ την βουλήν έξήτασε. πολλοί μεν γαρ ίππης πολλοί δε και πεζοί παρά την άξιαν έκ των εμφυλίων πολέμων εβούλευον, ώστε καὶ ἐς χιλίους τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς γερουσίας 2 αύξηθήναι. τούτους ούν έκκρίναι βουληθείς αύτος μέν ούδενα αύτων άπηλειψε, προτρεψάμενος δέ σφας έκ του συνειδότος του τε γένους και του Βίου δικαστάς έσυτοις γενέσθαι το μέν πρώτου πεντήκοντά που έπεισεν έθελοντάς έκστήναι του συνεδρίου, έπειτα δε και άλλους έκατου και τεσ-3 σαράκουτα μιμήσασθαί σφας ήνάγκασε, καί αύτων ητίμωσε μεν οδδένα, τὰ δ' δνόματα των δευτέρων εξέθηκε τοις γάρ προτέροις, ότι μή έγρόνισαν άλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπειθάρχησάν οἱ, ἀφῆκε το ονείδισμα, διατ' αύτους μη έκδημοσιευθήναι. ούτοι μέν ούν 3 έκούσιοι δήθεν ίδιώτευσαν. Κύιντον δὲ δὴ Στατίλιον καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντα τῆς

^{*} araf sal sisodásis Reim., ér sisódir VM.

* tayárosi VM, tyyárosi Xiph. * obr M, om. V.

assumed the title of imperator. I do not here refer s.e. 20 to the title which had occasionally been bestowed, in accordance with the ancient custom, upon generals in recognition of their victories,—for he had received that many times before this and received it many times afterwards in honour merely of his achievements, so that he won the name of imperator twenty-one times,—but rather the title in its other use, which signifies the possession of the supreme power, in which sense it had been voted to his father Caesar and to the children and descendants of Caesar.

After this he became censor with Agrippa as his colleague, and in addition to other reforms which he instituted, he purged the senate. For as a result of the civil wars a large number of knights and even of foot-soldiers were in the senate without justification in merit, so that the membership of that body had been swollen to a thousand. Now though it was his wish to remove these men, he did not crase any of their names himself, but urged them rather, on the strength of their own knowledge of their families and their lives, to become their own judges; he thus first persuaded some fifty of them to withdraw from the senate voluntarily, and then compelled one hundred and forty others to imitate their example. He disfranchised none of them, but posted the names of the second group only; for he spared the members of the first group the reproach of the publication of their names, because they had not delayed but had straightway obeyed him. So all these men returned to private life of their own free will, so far as appearances were concerned; but Quintus Statilius was deposed, decidedly against his will, from the

4 δημαρχίας, ἐς ἡν ἀπεδέδεικτο, εἰρξεν. ἐτέρους τέ τινας βουλεύειν ἐποίησε, καὶ ἔς γε τοὺς ὑπατευκότας δύο ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν βουλευόντων, Κλούονιόν τέ τινα καὶ Φούρνιον Γαίους, ἐγκατέλεξεν, ὅτι προαποδεδευγμένοι οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν, ἄλλων τινῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῶν προκαταλαβόντων, ὑπατεῦσαι.

5 τό τε των εὐπατριδων γένος συνεπλήθυσε, τῆς βουλῆς οἱ δῆθεν ἐπιτρεψάσης τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ τό τε πλεῖστόν σφων ἀπωλώλει ἱ (οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ὡς τὸ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἀναλίσκεται) καὶ ἐς τὴν ποίησιν τῶν πατρίων ἀναγκαῖοι ἀεὶ εἰναι νομίζονται, ταῦτά

πατρίων άναγκαιοι άει είναι νομίζονται. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἔπραξε, καὶ προσαπείπε πῶσι τοῖς βουλεύουσι μὴ ἐκδημεῖν ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀν μὴ αὐτός τινι κελεύση ἡ καὶ ἐπιτρέψη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ φυλάσσεται πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι ἔς τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα, οὐδαμόσε ἄλλοσε βουλευτῆ ἀποδη-

7 μήσαι ἔξεστιν. ἐκείσε γὰρ διά τε τὸ σύνεγγυς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἄοπλον τό τε εἰρηναῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων δέδοται τοῖς γὲ τι κεκτημένοις αὐτόθι καὶ ἄνευ παραιτήσεως, ὁσάκις ἄν ἐθελήσωσιν, ἀπιέναι.

8 ἐπειδή τε πολλοὺς ἔτι καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν άλλων τῶν τὰ τοῦ ᾿Αντωνίου σπουδασάντων ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἐώρα, καὶ ἐφοβήθη μὴ νεοχμώσωσί τι, πάντα ἔφη τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις αὐτοῦ εὐρεθέντα ατακεκαυκέναι. καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς γε διεφθάρκει τινά τὰ γὰρ δὴ πλείω καὶ πάνυ ἐτήρει, ὅστε μηδ᾽ ὁκνῆσαι ὕστερον αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι.

I druhoher Dind., drohaher VM.

tribuneship, to which he had been appointed. And Be 29 Caesar caused some other men to become senators, and he enrolled among the ex-consuls two men of the senatorial class, a certain Gains Cluvius and Gaius Furnius, because, after they had already been elected consuls, they had been unable to serve, since others had occupied their offices first. And at the same time he increased the number of patrician families, ostensibly with the senate's permission, inasmuch as the greater part of the patricians had perished (indeed no class is so wasted in our civil wars as the nobility), and because the patricians are always regarded as indispensable for the perpetuation of our traditional institutions. In addition to these measures he forbade all members of the senate to go outside of Italy, unless he himself should command or permit them to do so. This restriction is still observed down to the present day; for no senator is allowed to leave the country for the purpose of visiting any place except Sicily and Gallia Narbonensis. But in the case of these regions, since they are close at hand and the inhabitants are unarmed and peaceful, those who have any possessions there are conceded the right to repair to them as often as they like without asking permission. And since he saw that many of the senators and others who had been partisans of Antony were still inclined to be suspicious of him, and was fearful lest they might set a revolution on foot, he announced that all the letters that had been found in Antony's strong boxes had been burned. And it is quite true that he had destroyed some of them, but he was very careful to keep the larger part, and afterwards he did not scruple to make use of them, either.

43 Τοῦτό τε οὖν οὖτως ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα ἐπαπφκισεν, ὅτι ὁ Λέπιδος μέρος τι αὐτῆς ἡρημώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ δίκαια τῆς ἀποικίας σφῶν λελυκέναι ἐδόκει. τόν τε ᾿Αντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγηνὸν μετεπέμψατο, ὅτι τινὰ πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διαφόρου οἱ ὄντος σταλέντα ἐς τὴν Ὑρώμην ἐδολοφόνησε, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον ² ἐσήγαγε καὶ καταψηφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τὴν Καπρίαν παρὰ τῶν Νεοπολιτῶν, ὧνπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡν, ἀντιδόσει χώρας ἡλλάξατο. κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς κατὰ Συρρεντὸν ἱ ἡπείρου, χρηστὸν μὲν οὐδέν, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διὰ τὴν τοῦ

1 Zuppertor H. Steph., augertor VM.

Τιβερίου ενοίκησιν έχουσα.

BOOK LII

So much for these matters. Caesar also settled as a Carthage anew, because Lepidus had laid waste a part of it and by this act, it was held, had abrogated the rights of the earlier colonists. And he sent a summons to Antiochus of Commagene, because he had treacherously murdered an envoy who had been despatched to Rome by his brother, who was at variance with him. Caesar brought him before the senate, and when judgment had been passed against him, put him to death. He also obtained Capreae from the Neapolitans, to whom it originally belonged, giving other territory in exchange. It lies not far from the mainland in the region of Surrentum and is good for nothing, but is renowned even to the present day because Tiberius had a residence there.

BOOK LIII

Table brevers de the neutrocoth thing the Alwest Popalities

α. 'Ωι ό του 'Ατόλλωνος ναδε έν τῷ Παλατία καθιερώθη.

 Δε Καίσαρ εδημηγόρησεν ἐν τὰ γερουσία ὡς τῆς μουαρχίας ἀφιστάμενος καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ Εθνη πρὰς αὐτὴν ἐνείματο.

γ. Περί της καταστάσεως των άρχόστων των ές τὰ έθνη πεμπομένων.

δ. 'Οι Καίσαρ Αδγουστας Ιπακλήθη.

в. Пері тык бионатык ык ві автапраторез данвакового.

ζ. 'Οι τὰ σέπτα καθιερώθη.

п. "Ол Кайвар "Авторог кай КантаВрог влодвидани.

θ. 'Οι Γαλατία όπο 'Ρωμαίων δρχισθαι βυξατυ.

 Ωι ή στολ ή τοῦ Ποσειδώνοι καὶ τὸ βαλαντίον τοῦ 'Αγρίττου καθιερώθη.

κ. 'Ωι τὸ Πάνθειον καθιερώθη.

Α. 'Οι Αδηρυστοι άφειθη της ανάγκης του τοις νόμοις πείθευθαι.

A. 'CI it' ApaBlar the subainova orparela inivero.

Χρώτου πλήθος έτη έξ, έν οίς δρχοντές οι άριβμούμενοι οίδε έγετοντο

Καΐσαρ τὸ τ΄ Μ. Ουφάνιος Λ. νὰ. 'Αγρίππας τὸ β΄ Ι ὅπ. Καΐσαρ τὸ ζ΄ Μ. Οὐφάνιος Α. νὰ. 'Αγρίππας τὸ γ΄ ὅπ. Καΐσαρ Αδγουστος τὸ η΄ Τ. Στατίλιος Τ. νὰ. ² Ταῦρος τὸ β΄ ὅπ. Αδγουστος τὸ θ΄ Μ. 'Ιούνιος Μ. νὰ. Σιλαγός ὅπ. Αδγουστος τὸ ἐ΄ ² Γ. Ναρβανός Γ. νὰ. Γ. ἔγγ. Φλάκκος ὅπ. ⁴ Αδγουττος τὸ ἐ΄ ² Γ. Καλπούρνιος ⁵ Γε. νὰ. Γν. ἔγγ. Πίσων ⁵ ὅπ. ⁴

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἔκτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ῆρξε, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζό-

1 τὸ 8' Xyl., τὸ y' VM.
2 T. vi. supplied by Es.
3 M. 'Ισύνιου Σιλανόι Αθγουσται τὸ i' supplied by Xyl., M. vi.
added by Bs.
4 δπ. supplied by Bs.

BOOK LIII

The following is contained in the Fifty third of Dio's Rome :-

How the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated

(chap. 1).

How Caesar delivered a speech in the senate, as if he were retiring from the sole rulership, and afterwards assigned to that body its provinces (chaps. 2-12).

About the appointment of the governors sent to the provinces (chaps, 13-15).

How Caesar was given the title of Augustus (chap. 16). About the names which the emperors receive (chaps. 17, 18).

How the Saepta were dedicated (chap. 23). How Caesar fought against the Astures and Cantabri

(chap. 25).

How Galatia began to be governed by Romans (chap. 26). How the Basilica of Neptune and the Baths of Agrippa were dedicated (chap. 27).

How the Pantheon was dedicated (chap. 27).

How Augustus was freed from the obligation of obeying the laws (chap. 28).

How an expedition was made against Arabia Felix (chap. 29).

Duration of time, six years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :-St.C.

28 Caesar (VI), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (II). 27 Caesar (VII), M. Vipsanius L. F. Agrippa (III).

26 Caesar Augustus (VIII), T. Statilius T. F. Taurus (II),

25 Augustus (IX), M. Junius M. F. Silanus.

24 Augustus (X), C. Norbanus C. F. C. N. Flaceus. Augustus (XI), Ca. Calpurnius Ca. F. Ca. N. Piso,

THESE were the occurrences at that time. The Re IS following year Caesar held office for the sixth time and conformed in all other respects to the usages

" Hiser Dinel., relowe VM.

² Калиобрию Xyl., налиобрии VM.

μενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἐποίησε, καὶ τοὺς φακέλους τῶν ῥάβδων τῷ ᾿Αγρίππα συνάρχοντί οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον παρέδωκεν, αὐτός τε ταῖς ἐτέραις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ διάρξας τὸν ὅρκον κατὰ

- 2 τὰ πάτρια ἐπήγαγε, καὶ εἰ μὲν καὶ αὐθις ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν, οὐκ οἰδα· τὸν γὰρ Αγρίππαν ἐς ὑπερ-βολὴν ἐτίμα· ἀμέλει τήν τε ἀδελφιδῆν¹ αὐτῷ συνῷκισε, καὶ σκηνήν, ὁπότε συστρατεύοιντο, ὁμοίαν τῆ ἐαυτοῦ παρεῖχε, τό τε σύνθημα παρ'
- 3 άμφοτέρων σφών έδίδοτο. ἐν δ΄ οὖν τῷ τότε παρόντι τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ εἶθιστο ἔπραξε, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἔξετέλεσε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς πρόκριτος τῆς γερουσίας ἐπεκλήθη, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ δημοκρατία ἐνενόμιστο, τὸ τε ᾿Απολλώνιον τὸ τὸ ἐν τῷ Παλατίω καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτό, τάς τε ἀποθήκας τῶν βιβλίων,
- 4 έξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε. καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆ νίκη τῆ πρὸς τῷ ᾿Ακτίῳ γενομένη ψηφισθείσαν ῆγαγε μετὰ τοῦ ᾿Αγρίππου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῆ τὴν ἰπποδρομίαν διά τε τῶν παίδων
- 5 καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐγενῶν ἐποίησε. καὶ αὕτη μὲν διὰ πέντε ἀεὶ ἐτῶν μέχρι του ⁴ ἔγί-γνετο, ταῦς τέσσαρσιν ἱερωσύναις ἐκ περιτροπῆς μέλουσα,⁵ λέγω δὲ τούς τε ποντίφικας καὶ τοὺς οἰωνιστὰς τούς τε έπτὰ καὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας καλουμένους τότε δὲ καὶ γυμνικὸς ἀγῶν

¹ áðenpiður M (áðenpiður), áðenphr V Xiph. Zon.

^{*} Anollorian St., anollawian VM. 2 to Bk., to te VM.

^{*} μέχρι του V. Herw., μέχρι οὐ VM. * μέλουσα R. Steph., μέλλουσα VM.

handed down from the earliest times, and, in par- RA, 28 ticular, he delivered to Agrippa, his colleague, the bundles of rods as it was incumbent upon him to do, while he himself used the other set, and on completing his term of office he took the oath according to ancestral custom.2 Whether he ever did this again, I do not know, for he always paid exceptional honour to Agrippa; thus he gave him his niece in marriage, and provided him with a tent similar to his own whenever they were campaigning together, and the watchword was given out by both of them, At this particular time, now, besides attending to his other duties as usual, he completed the taking of the census, in connection with which his title was princeps senatus, as had been the practice when Rome was truly a republic. Moreover, he completed and dedicated the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the precinct surrounding it, and the libraries. He also celebrated in company with Agrippa the festival which had been voted in honour of the victory won at Actium; and during this celebration he caused the boys and men of the nobility to take part in the Circensian games. This festival was held for a time every four years and was in charge of the four priesthoods in succession-I mean the pontifices, the augurs, and the septemviri and quindecimviri, as they were called. On the present occasion, moreover, a gymnastic contest

Augustus seems to have used twenty-four lictors until 29 s.c., and thereafter twelve, first as consul (until 23), then as preconsul (until 19), and later on all occasions. Cf. liv. 10, 5.

The customary cath taken by the consuls at the close of their term of office to the effect that they had done nothing contrary to the laws and had acted for the highest interests of the state. Cf. xxxvii. 38, 2, and xxxviii. 12, 3.

σταδίου τινὸς ἐν τῷ ᾿Αρείω πεδίω ξυλίνου κατασκευασθέντος ἐποιήθη, ὁπλομαχία τε ἐκ τῶν αἰ-6 χμαλώτων ἐγένετο. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἱ ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐπράχθη, οὐδὲ διέλιπε καίτοι νοσήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὁ ᾿Αγρίππας καὶ τὸ

έκείνου μέρος άνεπλήρου.

2 'Ο δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ἔς τε τὰς θεωρίας ἐκ τῶν Ιδίων δῆθεν ἀνήλισκε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ χρημάτων τῷ δημοσίω ἐδέησεν, ἐδανείσατό τινα καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πρός τε τὴν διοίκησίν σφων δύο κατ' ἔτος ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων αἰρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ τῷ πλήθει τετραπλάσιου τὸν σῖτον ἔνειμε, βουταλόσιου τὸν σῖτον ἔνειμε,

2 λευταίς τέ τισι χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο οὐτω γὰρ δὴ πολλοί σφων πένητες ἐγεγόνεσαν ῶστε μηδ ἀγορανομῆσαί τινα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἐθελῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια τὰ τῆ ἀγορανομία προσήκοντα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καθάπερ εἴθιστο, τὰ μὲν μείζω τῷ ἀστυνόμω τὰ δὲ ἔτερα τῷ ξενικῷ προσταχθῆναι.

3 πρός δὲ δὴ τούτοις τὸν ἀστυνόμον αὐτός ἀπέδειξεν δ καὶ αὐθις πολλάκις ἐποίησε. καὶ τὰς ἐγγύας τὰς πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον πρὸ τῆς πρὸς τῷ ᾿Ακτίω μάχης γενομένας, πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, ἀπήλλαξε, τά τε παλαιὰ συμβόλαια

4 τῶν τῷ κοινῷ τι ὀφειλόντων ἔκαυσε. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ λἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγενημένους τοῦς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἴγε τινὲς περιήσαν, ἐπισκενάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνε-

was held, a wooden stadium having been constructed a.c. 25 in the Campus Martius, and there was a gladiatorial combat between captives. These events continued for several days and

for several days and were not interrupted even when Caesar fell ill; but Agrippa went on with them even so, discharging Caesar's duties as well as his own,

Now Caesar allowed it to be understood that he was spending his private means upon these festivals. and when money was needed for the public treasury, he borrowed some and supplied the want; and for the management of the funds he ordered two annual magistrates to be chosen from among the ex-practors. To the populace he distributed a quadruple allowance of grain and to some of the senators he made presents of money. For so many of them had become impoverished that none was willing to hold even the office of aedile because of the magnitude of the expenditures involved; indeed, the functions which belonged to that office, and particularly the judicial functions, were assigned to the practors, as had been the custom, the more important to the practor urbanus and the rest to the practor peregrinus. In addition to all this, Caesar himself appointed the practor urbanus, as, indeed, he often did subsequently. He cancelled all obligations which had been given to the public treasury previous to the battle of Actium, except those secured by buildings, and he burned the old notes of those who were indebted to the state. As for religious matters, he did not allow the Egyptian rites to be eelebrated inside the pomerium, but made provision for the temples; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest

5 κτήσατο, ού μέντοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς οἰκοδομήσεώς σφων εσφετερίσατο, άλλ' απέδωκεν αυτοίς τοίς κατασκευάσασιν αυτούς. ἐπειδή τε πολλά πάνυ κατά τε τὰς στάσεις κάν τοῖς πολέμοις. άλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῦ τοῦ 'Αντωνίου τοῦ τε Λεπίδου συναρχία, και ανόμως και αδίκως έτετάχει, πάντα αυτά δι ένος προγράμματος κατέλυσεν, δρον την 6 έκτην αυτού υπατείαν προθείς. Ευδοκιμών τε ούν έπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπαινούμενος ἐπεθύμησε καὶ έτέραν τινά μεγαλοψυχίαν διαδείξασθαι, όπως και έκ του τοιούτου μάλλου τιμηθείη, και παρ έκουτων δη των ανθρώπων την μοναρχίαν Βεβαιώσασθαι του μη δοκείν άκοντας αύτους βε-7 βιάσθαι. κάκ τούτου τούς μάλιστα επιτηδείους οί των βουλευτών παρασκευάσας ές τε την γερουσίαν εσήλθεν εβδομον ύπατεύων, και άνέγνω τοιάδε.

3 " Απιστα μέν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι δόξω τισὶν ὑμῶν, ὅ πατέρες, προηρῆσθαι α γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἀν ἐθελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἐτέρου λέγοντος πιστεύειν βούλεται, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν ἐτοιμότερον 2 ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐαυτὸν λεγομένοις, καὶ προσέτι καὶ γιγνώσκω τοῦθ', ὅτι οἱ τὰ μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα εἰναι λέγοντες οὐχ ὅσον οὐ πείθουσί τινας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κόβαλοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπηγγελλόμην δ μὴ παραχρῆμα ποιῆσειν ἔμελλον, σφόδρα ἀν ἀπώκνησα αὐτὸ ἐκφῆναι, μὴ καὶ αἰτίαν τινὰ μοχθηρὰν ἀντὶ χάριτος λάβω.

³ wpostels Rk., wpostels VM.

³ τοῦ R. Steph., τὰ VM. ⁵ ὁμῶν M, ὁμῶν V,

he restored himself. He did not, however, appro- no 38 priate to himself the credit for their erection, but allowed it to go as before to the original builders. And inasmuch as he had put into effect very many illegal and unjust regulations during the factional strife and the wars, especially in the period of his joint rule with Antony and Lepidus, he abolished them all by a single decree, setting the end of his sixth consulship as the time for their expiration. When, now, he obtained approbation and praise for this act, he desired to exhibit another instance of magnanimity, that by such a policy he might be honoured all the more and might have his sovereignty voluntarily confirmed by the people, so as to avoid the appearance of having forced them against their will. Therefore, having first primed his most intimate friends among the senators, he entered the senate in his seventh consulship and read the fol- sec. 27 lowing address:

"I am sure that I shall seem to some of you, Conscript Fathers, to have made an incredible choice. For what each one of my hearers would not wish to do himself, he does not like to believe, either, when another claims to have done it, especially as everyone is jealous of anybody who is superior to him and so is more prone to disbelieve any utterance that is above his own standard. Besides, I know this, that those who say what appears to be incredible not only fail to persuade others but also appear to be impostors. And indeed, if it were a question of my promising something that I was not intending to put into effect immediately, I should have been exceedingly loath to proclaim it, for fear of gaining, instead of gratitude, some grievous im-

3 νῦν δ' ὁπότε εὐθὸς καὶ τήμερον ἐπακολουθήσει τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ, πάνυ θαρσούντως ἔχω μὴ μόνον μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην ψευδολογίας ὀφλήσειν, ἀλλὰ

4 και πάντας άνθρώπους εύδοξία νικήσειν. ὅτι μεν γὰρ πάρεστί μοι διὰ παντὸς ὑμῶν ἄρχειν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε τό τε γὰρ στασιάσαν πᾶν ἤτοι δικαιωθεν πέπαυται ἡ καὶ ἐλεηθεν σεσωφρόνισται, καὶ τὸ συναράμενον μοι τῆ τε ἀμοιβἢ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ὡκείωται καὶ τῆ κοινωνία τῶν πρα-

2 γμάτων ὼχύρωται, ὥστε μήτε ἐπιθυμῆσαί τινα νεωτέρων ἔργων, κᾶν ἄρα τι καὶ τοιοῦτο γένηται, τὰ γοῦν βοηθῆσον ήμῖν ἔτοιμον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι. τά τε στρατιωτικὰ ἀκμάζει μοι καὶ εὐνοία καὶ ῥώμη, καὶ χρήματα ἔστι καὶ σύμμαχοι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, οῦτω καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ὁ δῆμος διάκεισθε πρός με ὧστε καὶ πάνυ ἄν προστατεῖσθαι?

3 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὑμῶς ἐξηγήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἐγὼ τῆς αὐταρχἶας ἔνεκα πάντα τὰ προκατειργασμένα ἔπραξα· ἀλλὰ ἀφίημι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄπασαν καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ὑμῶν πάντα ἀπλῶς, τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς νόμους τὰ ἔθνη, οὐχ ὅπως ἔκεῖνα ὅσα μοι ὑμεῖς Α ἔπετοἐψαπε ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπα αἰπὸν μετὰ παῖθί ἰνῶν

4 ἐπετρέψατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν προσεκτησάμην, ἵνα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων καταμάθητε τοῦθ', ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς δυναστείας τινὸς ἐπεθύμησα, ἀλλ' ὅντως τῷ τε πατρὶ δεινῶς σφαγέντι τιμωρῆσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλων καὶ ἐπαλληλων κακῶν ἐξελέσθαι ἡθέ-

5 λησα. ὄφελον μέν γὰρ μηδὲ ἐπιστῆναί ποτε οῦτω τοῖς πράγμασι: τοῦτ ἔστιν, ὄφελον μὴ

[·] έλεηθεν σεσωφρόνισται Μ. έλεηθέντει σωφρόνισται V.

putation. But as it is, when the performance will at 27 follow the promise this very day, I feel quite confident, not only that I shall incur no reproach of falsehood, but that I shall surpass all mankind in good repute. You see for yourselves, of course, that it is in my power to rule over you for life; for every factious element has either been put down through the application of justice or brought to its senses by receiving mercy, while those who were on my side have been made devoted by my reciprocating their friendly services and bound fast by having a share in the government. Therefore none of them desires a revolution, and if anything of the sort should take place, at least the party which will stand by me is even more ready than it was before. My military is in the finest condition as regards both loyalty and strength; there is money and there are allies; and, most important of all, you and the people are so disposed toward me that you would distinctly wish to have me at your head. However, I shall lead you no longer, and no one will be able to say that it was to win absolute power that I did whatever has hitherto been done. Nay, I give up my office completely, and restore to you absolutely everything,-the army, the laws, and the provinces, - not only those which you committed to me, but also those which I myself later acquired for you. Thus my very deeds also will prove to you that even at the outset I desired no position of power, but in very truth wished to avenge my father, cruelly murdered, and to extricate the city from great evils that came on unceasingly. Indeed, I would that I had not gone so far as to assume charge of affairs as I did; that is, I would that the city had not

δεδεήσθαί μου πρὸς τοιοῦτό τι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνη καὶ ὁμονοία, καθάπερ ποτὲ καὶ οἰ πατέρες ήμῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐν τῆδε τῆ ἡλικία 2 ἀπ' ἀρχῆς βεβιωκέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰμαρμένη τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐς τοῦτο προήγαγεν ὑμᾶς ὥστε καὶ ἐμοῦ, καίπερ νέου ἔτι τότε ὅντος, καὶ χρείαν σχεῖν καὶ πεῖραν λαβεῖν, μέχρι μὲν οὖ τὰ πράγματα τῆς παρ ἐμοῦ ἐπικουρίας ἔχρηζε, πάντα τε προθύμως καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐποίησα καὶ πάντα εὐτυχῶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν κατέπραξα. 3 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι τῶν πάντων ἀπέτρεψὲ με κινδυνεύουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρῆσαι, οὺ πόνος, οὺ φόβος, οὐκ ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλαί, οὺ φίλων δεήσεις, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεστηκότων, ούχ ἡ ἀπόνοια

τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπέδωκα άφειδῶς ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐς πάντα τὰ περιεστηκότα, καὶ ἔπραξα καὶ ἔπαθον ἄπερ ἴστε. ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν κεκέρδαγκα πλὴν τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα περιπεποιῆσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ σώζεσθε καὶ σωφρονεῖτε, ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄδολον καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἀστασίαστον δι ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἀποδέδωκεν, ἀπολάβετε καὶ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν, κομίσασθε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ὅθνη τὰ ὑπήκοα, καὶ πολιτεύεσθε ἄσπερ

είωθειτε.

6 "Καὶ μήτε" θαυμάσητε εἰ ταῦθ οῦτω φρονῶ, τήν τε ἄλλην ἐπιείκειάν μου καὶ πραότητα καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνην ὁρῶντες, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὐδὲν πώποτε οὕθ ὑπέρογκον οὕθ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλούς, καίπερ πολλά πολλάκις ψηφισαμένων 2 ὑμῶν, ἐδεξάμην μήτ αὐ μωρίαν μου καταγνῶτε,

1 of Bk., 200 VM. 1 more Bk., ubrat VM.

required me for any such task, but that we of this as a generation also might have lived from the beginning in peace and harmony, as our fathers lived of yore. But since some destiny, as it appears, brought you to a position where you had need even of me, young as I still was at the time, and put me to the test, I did everything with a zeal even beyond my years and accomplished everything with a good fortune even beyond my powers, so long as the situation demanded my help. And nothing in the world could deter me from aiding you when you were in danger, -neither toil, nor fear, nor threats of foes, nor prayers of friends, nor the multitude of the conspirators, nor the desperation of our adversaries; nay, I gave myself to you unstintingly for any and all the exigencies which have arisen, and what I did and suffered, you know. From all this I have derived no gain for myself except that I have kept my country from perishing; but as for you, you are enjoying both safety and tranquillity. Since, then, Fortune, by using me, has graciously restored to you peace without treachery and harmony without faction, receive back also your liberty and the republic; take over the army and the subject provinces, and govern yourselves as has been your wont.

"You should not be surprised at this purpose of mine, when you see my reasonableness in other respects, my mildness, and my love of quiet, and when you reflect, moreover, that I have never accepted any extraordinary privilege nor anything beyond what the many might gain, though you have often voted many of them to me. Do not, on the

ότι έξου μοι και ύμων άρχειν και τηλικαύτην ήγεμονίαν τοσαύτης οἰκουμένης έχειν οὐ βούλομαι. έγω γάρ, αν τε το δίκαιον τις έξετάζη, δικαιότατον είναι νομίζω τὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμᾶς διέπειν, άν τε καλ το συμφέρου, συμφορώτατου ήγουμαι καὶ έμοὶ τὸ μήτε πράγματα έχειν μήτε φθονείσθαι μήτε έπιβουλεύεσθαι καὶ ύμιν τὸ μετ' έλευθερίας και σωφρόνως και φιλικώς πολιτεύ-3 εσθαι αν τε καὶ τὸ εὐκλεές, οὐπερ ἔνεκα πολλοί καὶ πολεμείν καὶ κινδυνεύειν πολλάκις αἰροθυται, πως μέν ούκ εὐδοξότατόν μοι έσται τηλικαύτης άργης άφέσθαι, πως δ' ούκ εὐκλεέστατον έκ τοσούτου ήγεμονίας δγκου έθελοντὶ ίδιωτεύσαι: ωστ εί τις ύμων απιστεί ταυτ' όντως τινα άλλον και φρονήσαι έπ' άληθείας και είπειν δύνασθαι. 4 έμουγε πιστευσάτω. πολλά γάρ καὶ μεγάλα καταλέξαι έχων όσα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου εύηργέτησθε, έφ' οίς είκότως αν ήμας ύπερ πάντας τους άλλους και φιλοίητε και τιμώητε, οὐδὲν ἄν ἄλλο τούτου μαλλον εἴποιμι, οὐδ' άν ἐπ' άλλω τινί μάλλον σεμνυναίμην, ότι την μοναρχίαν μήτε έκείνος καίτοι διδόντων ύμων λαβείν ήθέλησε και έγω έχων άφίημι.

7 "Τί γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ παρεξετάσειεν αὐτῷ; τὴν Γαλατίας ἄλωσιν ἡ τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν ἡ τὴν Μυσίας χείρωσιν ἡ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καταστροφήν; άλλὰ τὸν Φαρνάκην τὸν Ἰούβαν τὸν Φραάτην, τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βρεττανοὺς στρατείαν,

other hand, condemn me as foolish because, when it ac at is in my power to rule over you and to hold so great a sovereignty over this vast world, I do not wish it. For, if one looks into the merits of the case from the point of view of justice, I regard it as most just for you to manage your own affairs; if from the point of view of expediency, I consider it most expedient, both that I should be free from trouble and not be the object of jealousy and intrigue, and that you should have a government based upon liberty and conducted with moderation and friendly feeling; and if, finally, from the point of view of glory, to win which many men are often found ready to choose war and personal risk, will it not add most to my renown to resign so great an empire, will it not add most to my glory to leave so exalted a sovereignty and voluntarily become a private citizen? Therefore, if there is any one of you who believes that no man except me can really and sincerely hold to such ideals and give them utterance, at least let him believe it of me. For, though I could recite many great benefits conferred upon you both by me and by my father, for which we beyond all other men could reasonably claim your affection and your honour, I could single out no other act in preference to this, nor could I feel a greater pride in any other thing than in this,-that he refused the monarchy although you offered it to him, and that I, when I hold it, lay it aside.

"What achievement, indeed, could one compare with these acts of ours? The conquest of Gaul, the enslavement of Pannonia, the subjugation of Moesia, the overthrow of Egypt? Or Pharnaces, or Juba, or Phraates, or the campaign against the Britons, or

τήν του 'Ρήνου διάβασιν; καίτοι τοσαύτα καί τοιαθτα ταθτά έστιν όσα καὶ οία οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οί πατέρες ήμων έν παντί τω πρόσθεν χρόνω 2 πεποιήκασιν. άλλ' όμως ούτε τούτων τι τώ παρόντι έργω παραβαλείν έστιν άξιου, ούθ ότι τούς έμφυλίους πολέμους και μεγίστους και ποικιλωτάτους δια πάντων γενομένους και διεπολεμήσαμεν καλώς καὶ διεθέμεθα φιλανθρώπως, τοῦ μέν άντιστάντος ώς και πολεμίου παντός 1 κρατήσαντες, τὸ δ' ὑπείξαν ώς καὶ φίλιον πῶν περισώ-3 σαντες, ώστ' είπερ ποτέ και αύθις πεπρωμένου είη την πάλιν ημών ε νοσησαι, τούτον αὐτην τον τρόπον εύξασθαί τινα στασιάσαι το γάρ τοι τοσοῦτόν τε Ισχύσαντας ήμας και οὕτω και τή άρετη και τη τύχη άκμάσαντας ώστε και έκοντων και ακόντων ύμων αύταρχήσαι δυνηθήναι, μήτε έκφρονήσαι μήτε της μοναρχίας επιθυμήσαι, άλλα και έκείνου διδομένην αυτήν απώσασθαι καὶ ἐμὰ δεδομένην ἀποδιδόναι, ὑπὰρ ἄνθρωπόν 4 ἐστιν. λέγω δὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπικομπῶν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ ότιοῦν πλεονεκτήσειν απ' αὐτῶν ήμελλον), άλλ' ἵνα είδητε ότι πολλών και μεγάλων ές τε το κοινου εύεργετημάτων και ές τα οίκεια σεμνολογημάτων ήμιν όντων, έπι τούτω μάλιστα αγαλλόμεθα ότι, ών έτεροι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τινας επιθυμούσι, ταύθ' 8 ήμεις οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσιέμεθα, τίς μεν γὰρ ὰν μεγαλοψυχότερος μου, ίνα μη και τον πατέρα τον μετηλλαχότα αύθις είπω, τίς δὲ δαιμονιώτερος ευρεθείη; όστις, & Ζεύ και "Ηρακλες,

¹ жантак М., тирак V.

[&]quot; ofg the token have V, have sty the taker M.

the crossing of the Rhine? Yet these are greater ac. 27 and more important deeds than even all our forefathers together performed in all previous time. Nevertheless, no one of these exploits deserves a place beside my present act, to say nothing of our civil wars, of all which have ever occurred the greatest and most varied in its changing fortunes, which we fought to an honourable conclusion and brought to a humane settlement, overpowering as enemies all who resisted, but sparing as friends all who yielded; therein setting an example, so that if it should be fated that our city should ever again be afflicted, one might pray that it should conduct its quarrel in the same way. Indeed, I will go further; that we, when we possessed a strength so great, and when we so clearly stood at the summit of prowess and good fortune, that we could exercise over you, with or without your consent, our arbitrary rule, did not lose our senses or conceive the desire for sole supremacy, but that he thrust that supremacy aside when it was offered him and that I return it after it has been given me,-that, I say, transcends the deeds of a man! I say this, not by way of idle boasting,-indeed, I should not have said it at all, if I were going to derive any advantage whatever from it,-but in order that you may see that, although we can point to many benefits conferred upon the state at large and to many services rendered to individuals of which we might boast, yet we take the greatest pride in this, that what others so desire that they are even willing to do violence to gain it, this we do not accept even under compulsion. Who could be found more magnanimous than I,-not to mention again my deceased father,-who more nearly divine? For

στρατιώτας τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους, καὶ πολίτας

και συμμάχους, φιλούντάς με έχων, και πάσης μέν της έντος των Πρακλείων στηλών θαλάσσης πλην όλιγων κρατών, έν πάσαις δέ ταις ήπείροις 2 και πόλεις και έθνη κεκτημένος, και μήτ' άλλοφύλου τινός έτι προσπολεμούντος μοι μήτ' οίκείου στασιάζουτος, άλλα πάντων ύμων και είρηνούντων και ομονοούντων και εύθενούντων και το μέγιστον έθελοντηδον πειθαρχούντων, έπειθ έκούσιος αυτεπάγγελτος και άρχης τηλικαύτης άφίσταμαι και ούσίας τοσαύτης απαλλάττομαι. 3 ωστ' είπερ ὁ Όράτιος ὁ Μούκιος ὁ Κούρτιος ὁ Υρήγουλος οι Δέκιοι και κινδυνεύσαι και άποθανείν ύπερ του μέγα τι καὶ καλον πεποιηκέναι δόξαι ήθέλησαν, πώς ούκ αν έγω μαλλον έπιθυμήσαιμι τούτο πράξαι έξ ου κάκείνους και τους άλλους άμα πάντας άνθρώπους εύκλεία ζών 4 ύπερβαλώ; μη γάρ τοι νομίση τις ύμων τούς μέν πάλαι Υωμαίους και άρετης και εὐδοξίας έφεισθαι, νύν δε εξίτηλον εν τη πόλει πάν το άνδρώδες γεγονέναι. μη μέντοι μηδ' ύποπτεύση

πάσιν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται, ἐκδοῦναι βούλομαι. 5 ὑμῖν γάρ, ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ φρονιμωτάτοις πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ἀνατίθημι. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτ ἀν ἐποίησα, οὐδ εἰ μυριάκις ἀποθανεῖν ἡ καὶ μοναρχῆσαί με ἔδει τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ 6 ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ποιῶ, αὐτός τε

ότι προέσθαι τε ύμᾶς και πονηροίς τισιν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι, ή και ὀχλοκρατία τινί, ἐξ ής οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν γρηστον ἀλλά και πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀει

¹ εδθενούντων Dind., εδθηνούντων Rk., εδσθενούντων VM. 4 δμών M. ήμών V.

I,-the gods be my witnesses !-- who have so many as it gallant soldiers, both Romans and allies, who are devoted to me, I, who am supreme over the entire sea within the Pillars of Hereales except for a few tribes, I who possess both cities and provinces in every continent, at a time when there is no longer any foreign enemy making war upon me and no one at home is engaged in sedition, but when you are all at peace, are harmonious and strong, and, greatest of all, are content to yield obedience, I, in spite of all this, voluntarily and of my own motion resign so great a dominion and give up so vast a possession. So then, if Horatius, Mucius, Curtius, Regulus, and the Decii were willing to encounter danger and to die to win the fame of having done a great and noble deed, why should not I desire even more to do this thing, whereby, without losing my life, I shall excel both them and all the rest of mankind in glory? In truth no one of you should think that the ancient Romans sought to win fair fame and reputation for valour, but that in these days every manly virtue has become extinct in the state. And further, let no one suspect that I wish to betray you by delivering you into the hands of a group of wicked men, or by giving you over to government by the mob, from which nothing good ever comes, but rather in all cases and for all mankind nothing but the most terrible evils. Nay, it is to you senators, to you who are the best and wisest, that I restore the entire administration of the state. The other course I should never have followed, even had it been necessary for me to die a thousand deaths, or even to assume the sole rule; but this policy I adopt both for my own good and for that of the city. For

γάρ καὶ πεπόνημαι καὶ τεταλαιπώρημαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὕτε τῆ ψυχῆ οὕτε τῷ σώματι ἀντέχειν δύναμαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν φθόνον καὶ τὸ μῖσος, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐγγίγνεταί τισι, τάς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλὰς προορῶμαι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι μάλλον εὐκλεῶς ἡ μοναρχῆσαι ἐπικινδύνως αἰροῦμαι. καὶ τὰ κοινὰ κοινῶς ἃν πολὺ βέλτιον ἄτε ¹ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἄμα διαγόμενα καὶ μὴ ἐς ἔνα τινὰ ἀνηρτημένα διοικοῦτο.

" Δι' ούν ταυτα καὶ ίκετεύω καὶ δέομαι πάντων ύμων όμοίως και συνεπαινέσαι και συμπροθυμη. θήναί μοι, λογισαμένους πάνθ' όσα και πεπολέμηκα ύπερ ύμων και πεπολίτευμαι, κάν τούτω πασάν μοι την ύπερ αυτών χάριν αποδόντας, έν τῶ συγχωρήσαί μοι ἐν ἡσυγία ήδη ποτὲ κατα-Βιώναι, "να και έκεινο είδητε ότι ου μόνον άργειν άλλα και άρχεσθαι επίσταμαι, και πάνθ' όσα άλλοις ἐπέταξα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεπιταχθήναι δύναμαι. 2 μάλιστα μέν γὰρ καὶ ἀσφαλώς ζήσειν καὶ μηδέν ύπο μηδενός μήτε έργω μήτε λόγω κακον πείσεσθαι προσδοκώ· τοσούτον που τη εύνοια ύμων, έξ 3 ών αύτὸς έμαυτῷ σύνοιδα, πιστεύω. άν δέ τι καὶ πάθω, οία πολλοίς συμβαίνει (οὐδὲ γαρ οίον τέ έστι πάσί τινα, άλλως τε καὶ έν τοσούτοις πολέμοις, τοίς μεν όθνείοις τοίς δε και εμφυλίοις, γενόμενον και τηλικαύτα πρώγματα έπιτραπέντα, άρέσαι), και πάνυ έτοιμως και πρό του είμαρ-

i Sention are Rk., Bentierd to VM.

I myself have undergone both labours and hardships and am no longer able to stand the strain, either in mind or in body. Furthermore, I foresee the jealousy and hatred which are engendered in certain persons against even the best men and the plots which arise therefrom. It is for these reasons that I choose the life of a private citizen and fair fame rather than that of a sovereign and constant peril. And as for the business of the commonwealth, it would be carried on far better by all in common, inasmuch as it would be transacted by many men together instead

of being dependent upon some one man.

"For these reasons, then, I ask and implore you one and all both to approve my course and to cooperate heartily with me, reflecting upon all that I have done for you alike in war and in public life, and rendering me complete recompense for it all by this one favour,-by allowing me at last to be at peace as I live out my life. Thus you will come to know that I understand not only how to rule but also how to submit to rule, and that all the commands which I have laid upon others I can endure to have laid upon me. I ask this because I expect to live in security, if that be possible, and to suffer no harm from anybody by either deed or word, -such is the confidence, based upon my own conscience, which I have in your good-will; but if some disaster should befall me, such as falls to the lot of many (for it is not possible for a man to please everybody, especially when he has been involved in wars of such magnitude, both foreign and civil, and has had affairs of such importance entrusted to him), with entire willingness. I make my choice to die even before my appointed

μένου μοι χρόνου τελευτήσαι μάλλον ίδιωτεύσας, ή και άθανατος μοναρχήσας γενέσθαι, αιρούμαι. 4 έμοι μεν γάρ εύκλειαν και αὐτό τοῦτο οἴσει ότι

ού μόνον ούκ εφόνευσά τινα ύπερ του την άρχην κατασχείν, άλλά καὶ προσαπέβανον ύπερ τοῦ μή μοναργήσαι ό δὲ δή τολμήσας άποκτείναί με πάντως που καὶ ύπο τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ ὑφ΄

5 ύμων κολασθήσεται. άπερ που καὶ έπὶ τοῦ πατρός μου γέγονεν έκεινος μέν γάρ και ισόθεος άπεδείνθη και τιμών αιδίων έτυχεν, οι δ' άποσφάξαντες αύτον κακοί κακώς άπώλουτο. άθάνατοι μέν γάρ ούκ αν δυνηθείημεν γενέσθαι, έκ δέ δή του καλώς ζήσαι και έκ του καλώς τελευ.

6 τήσαι καὶ τούτο τρόπον τινὰ κτώμεθα. ἀφ' ούπερ και έγω το μεν ήδη έχων το δε έξειν έλπίζων, αποδίδωμι υμίν και τα δπλα και τα έθνη τας τε προσόδους καὶ τούς νόμους, τοσούτον μόνον ύπειπών, ζυα μήτε το μέγεθος ή και το δυσμεταγείριστου των πραγμάτων φοβηθέντες άθυμήσητε. μήτ' αὐ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ώς καὶ ἡαδίως διοικείσθαι δυναμένων άμελήσητε.

10 " Καίτοι καὶ καθ' ἐκαστον τῶν μειζόνων οὐκ ἄν όκνήσαιμι ύμιν έν κεφαλαίοις όσα χρή πράττειν ύποθέσθαι. τίνα δε ταθτά έστι; πρώτον μέν τούς κειμένους νόμους Ισχυρώς φυλάττετε, καί μηδένα αὐτών μεταβάλητε τὰ γὰρ ἐν ταὐτώ μένοντα, κάν χείρω ή, συμφορώτερα των αεί καινοτομουμένων, κών βελτίω είναι δοκή, έστίν. 2 έπειτα δέ, όσα προστάττουσιν υμίν ούτοι ποιείν time as a private citizen, in preference to living ac 17 forever as the occupant of a throne. Indeed, this very choice will bring me renown, - that I not only did not deprive another of life in order to win that office, but went so far as even to give up my life in order to avoid being king; and the man who dares to slav me will certainly be punished, I am sure, both by Heaven and by you, as happened, methinks, in the case of my father. For he was declared to be the equal of the gods and obtained eternal honours, whereas those who slew him perished, miserable men, by a miserable death. As for immortality, we could not possibly achieve it; but by living nobly and by dying nobly we do in a sense gain even this boon. Therefore, I, who already possess the first requisite and hope to possess the second, return to you the armies and the provinces, the revenues and the laws, adding only a few words of suggestion, to the end that you may not be afraid of the magnitude of the business of administration, or of the difficulty of handling it and so become discouraged, and that you may not, on the other hand, regard it with contempt, with the idea that it can easily be managed, and thus neglect it.

"And yet, after all, I feel no hesitancy about suggesting to you in a summary way what ought to be done in each of the leading departments of administration. And what are these suggestions? In the first place, guard vigilantly the established laws and change none of them; for what remains fixed, even though it be inferior, is more advantageous than what is always subject to innovations, even though it seem to be superior. Next, pay strict heed to do whatever these laws enjoin upon

και όσων απαγορεύουσιν απέχεσθαι, μη τώ λόγω μόνου άλλά καὶ τῷ ἔργω, μηδ' ἐν τῷ κοινῷ μόνον άλλα και ίδια ακριβώς παρατηρείσθε. 3 όπως μή τιμωρίας άλλα τιμών τυγχάνητε. τάς τε άρχας και τας είρηνικάς και τας πολεμικάς τοις αεί αρίστοις τε και εμφρονεστάτοις επιτρέπετε, μήτε φθορούντές τισι, μήθ' ύπερ του τον δείνα ή τον δείνα πλεονεκτήσαι τι, άλλ' ύπερ. του την πόλιν και σώζεσθαι και εύπραγείν 4 φιλοτιμούμενοι. καὶ τούς μέν τοιούτους τιμάτε, τούς δ' άλλως πως πολιτευομένους κολάζετε. καὶ τὰ μεν ίδια κοινά τη πόλει παρέχετε, των δε δημοσίων ώς άλλοτρίων άπέχεσθε, και τα μεν ύπαρχουθ' υμίν ακριβώς φυλάττετε, των δέ μη 5 προσηκόντων μηδαμώς έφίεσθε. και τους μέν συμμάχους και τους υπηκόους μήθ' υβρίζετε μήτε έκχρηματίζεσθε, τους δε πολεμίους μήτ άδικείτε μήτε φοβείσθε. τα μεν όπλα έν ταις χερσίν άεὶ έχετε, μη μέντοι μήτε κατ άλλήλων ι μήτε κατά των είρηνούντων αυτοίς χρησθε. τούς τε στρατιώτας τρέφετε μέν άρκούντως, ώστε μηδενός των άλλοτρίων δι άπορίαν επιθυμήσαι. συνέχετε δε και σωφρονίζετε, ώστε μηδέν κακον διὰ θρασύτητα δράσαι.

Τ "Αλλά τί δεί μακρολογεῖν, πάνθ α προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐπεξιώντα; καὶ γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ ῥαδίως ἀν ἐκ τούτων ὡς χρὴ πράττεσθαι συνίδοιτε.* ἐν οὖν ἔτι τοῦτο εἰπῶν παύσομαι, ὅτι ἀν μὲν οὕτω πολιτεύσησθε, αὐτοί τε εὐδαιμονήσετε καὶ ἐμοὶ

raparnpelade R. Steph., παρατηρείαθαι VM.
rioi M, rioi V. χρησθε Μ. χρησθαι V.
συνίδοιτε Pflugh, συνίδοιτε VM.

you and to refrain from whatever they forbid, and do no. at this not only in word but also in deed, not only in public but also in private, that you may obtain, not penalties, but honours. Entrust the offices both of peace and of war to those who are the most excellent and the most prudent, harbouring no jealousy of any man, and indulging in rivalry, not to advance the private interests of this or that man, but to keep the city safe and make it prosperous. Honour men who show this spirit, but punish those who act otherwise in political life. Treat your private means as the common property of the state, but refrain from the public funds as belonging to others. Guard strictly what you already have, but never covet that which does not belong to you. Do not treat the allies and subject nations insolently nor exploit them for gain, and in dealing with the enemy, neither wrong him nor fear him. Have your arms always in hand, but do not use them either against one another or against those who keep the peace. Maintain the soldiers adequately, so that they may not on account of want desire anything which belongs to others; keep them in hand and under discipline, that they may not become presumptuous and do harm.

"But why make a long speech by going through everything in detail which it behooves you to do? For you may easily understand from these hints how all other matters should be handled. I will close with this one further remark, that if you will conduct the government in this manner, you will both enjoy

χαριείσθε, ὅστις ὑμᾶς στασιάζοντας κακῶς λαβὼν 8 τοιούτους ἀπέδειξα, ἀν δ' ἀδυνατήσητε καὶ ὅτιοῦν αὐτῶν πρᾶξαι, ἐμὲ μὲν μετανοῆσαι ποιήσετε, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν ἔς τε πολέμους πολλοὺς καὶ ἐς κινδύ-

νους μεγάλους αδθις έμβαλείτε."

Τοιαύτα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀναλέγοντος ποικίλον τι πάθος τοὺς βουλευτὰς κατελάμβανεν. ὁλίγοι μὲν γὰρ τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ ἤδεσαν κὰκ τούτου καὶ συνεσπούδαζον αὐτῷ· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευον τὰ λεγόμενα οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευόν σφισι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι,

2 οι μέν την περιτέχνησιν αὐτοῦ οι δὲ την γνώμην, καὶ ήχθοντο οι μέν τῆ πραγματεία αὐτοῦ οι δὲ τῆ μετανοία. τό τε γὰρ δημοκρατικὸν ήδη τινὲς ὡς καὶ στασιῶδες ἐμίσουν, καὶ τῆ μεταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας ἡρέσκοντο, τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἔχαιρον. καὶ ἀπ αὐτῶν τοῖς μὲν παθήμασι διαφόροις τοῖς

3 δὲ ἐπινοήμασιν όμοίοις ἐχρῶντο. οὐτε γὰρ πιστεύσαντες ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ λέγεσθαι χαίρειν ἐδύναντο, οὕθ' οἱ βουλόμενοι ¹ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δέος, οὕθ' οἱ ἔτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας οῦτ' ἀπιστήσαντες διαβαλεῖν τε αὐτὰν καὶ ἐλέγξαι ἐτόλμων, οἱ μὲν

4 ὅτι ἐφοβοῦντο, οἱ δ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλοντο. ὅθενπερ καὶ πιστεύειν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ δὲ ἐπλάττοντο. καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔθάρσουν οἱ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεταξὺ ἀναγιγνώσκοντος αὐτοῦ διεβόων πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, μοναρχεῖσθαί τε δεόμενοι καὶ

¹ Вордения R. Steph., Вордеобранов VM.

prosperity yourselves and you will gratify me, who need found you engaged in wretched strife and made you what you now are; but if there is any part whatever of this programme that you shall prove unable to carry out, you will cause me to regret my action and you will at the same time cast the city again into

many wars and grave dangers."

While Caesar was reading this address, varied feelings took possession of the senators. A few of them knew his real intention and consequently kept applauding him enthusiastically; of the rest, some were suspicious of his words, while others believed them, and therefore both classes marvelled equally, the one at his cunning and the other at his decision, and both were displeased, the former at his scheming and the latter at his change of mind. For already there were some who abhorred the democratic constitution as a breeder of strife, were pleased at the change in government, and took delight in Caesar. Consequently, though they were variously affected by his announcement, their views were the same. For, on the one hand, those who believed he had spoken the truth could not show their pleasure,those who wished to do so being restrained by their fear and the others by their bopes, -and those, on the other hand, who did not believe it did not dare accuse him and expose his insincerity, some because they were afraid and others because they did not care to do so. Hence all the doubters either were compelled to believe him or else pretended that they did. As for praising him, some had not the courage and others were unwilling; on the contrary, both while he was reading and afterwards, they kept shouting out, begging for a monarchical government and urging

πάντα τὰ ἐς τοῦτο φέροντα ἐπιλέγοντες, μέχρις 5 οὖ κατηνάγκασαν δήθεν αὐτὸν αὐταρχήσαι. καὶ παραυτίκα γε τοῦς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτον διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῦς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδομένου ψηφισθήναι διεπράξατο, ὅπως ἀκριβή τὴν φρουράν ἔχη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς καταθέσθαι

την μοναρχίαν έπεθύμησε.

12 Την μεν ουν ήγεμονίαν τούτφ τῷ τρόπφ και παρά τῆς γερουσίας τοῦ τε δήμου ἐβεβαιώσατο, βουληθεὶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὡς δημοτικός τις εἰναι δόξαι, τὴν μὲν φρουτίδα τήν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν πᾶσαν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τινὸς δεομένων ὑπεδέξατο, οὕτε δὲ πάντων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρξειν. 2 οῦθ ὅσων ἀν ἄρξη, διὰ παντὸς τοῦτο ποιήσειν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀσθενέστερα ὡς καὶ εἰρηναῖα καὶ ἀπόλεμα ἀπέδωκε τῆ βουλῆ, τὰ δ' ἰσχυρότερα ὡς καὶ σφαλερὰ καὶ ἐπικίνουνα καὶ ἤτοι πολεμίους τινὰς προσοίκους ἔχοντα ἡ καὶ αὐτὰ καθ 3 ἔαυτὰ μέγα τι νεωτερίσαι δυνάμενα κατέσχε, λόγο

ε αυτά μεγά τι νεωτερισαί ουνάμενα και το χε, κογή μεν όπως ή μεν γερουσία άδεως τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς άρχῆς καρπώτο, αὐτὸς δὲ τούς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχη, ἔργφ δὲ ἴνα ἐπὶ τῆ προφάσει ταύτη ἐκεῖνοι μεν καὶ ἄοπλοι καὶ ἄμαχοι ὁσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ δὴ μόνος καὶ ὅπλα ἔχη καὶ στρατιώτας

4 τρέφη, καὶ ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Αφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νουμιδία ἡ τε 'Ασία καὶ ἡ 'Ελλὰς μετὰ τῆς 'Ηπείρου, καὶ τὸ Δελματικὸν τό τε Μακεδονικὸν καὶ Σικελία, Κρήτη τε μετὰ Λιβύης τῆς

* To Xiph., Tr VM.

¹ διοπράξατο Bla., διοπράξαντο VM Χίρλι.

^{*} To Booky Xiph. Zon., om. VM.

every argument in its favour, until they forced him, w. . . . as it was made to appear, to assume autocratic power. His very first act was to secure a decree granting to the men who should compose his bodyguard double the pay that was given to the rest of the soldiers, so that he might be strictly guarded. When this was done, he was eager to establish the monarchy in very truth.

In this way he had his supremacy ratified by the senate and by the people as well. But as he wished even so to be thought democratic, while he accepted all the care and oversight of the public business, on the ground that it required some attention on his part, yet he declared he would not personally govern all the provinces, and that in the case of such provinces as he should govern he would not do so indefinitely; and he did, in fact, restore to the senate the weaker provinces, on the ground that they were peaceful and free from war, while he retained the more powerful, alleging that they were insecure and precarious and either had enemies on their borders or were able on their own account to begin a serious revolt. His professed motive in this was that the senate might fearlessly enjoy the finest portion of the empire, while he himself had the hardships and the dangers; but his real purpose was that by this arrangement the senators should be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and maintained soldiers. Africa, Numidia, Asia, Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian districts. Crete and the Cyrenaic portion of

περί Κυρήνην και Βιθυνία μετά τοῦ προσκειμένου. οί Πόντου, Σαρδώ τε καὶ Βαιτική του τε δήμου 5 και της γερουσίας είναι, του δέ δη Καίσαρος ή τε λοιπή Ίβηρία, ή τε περί Ταρράκωνα καὶ ή Ανσιτανία, και Γαλάται πάντες, οί τε Ναρβωνήσιοι καὶ οἱ Λουγδουνήσιος 'Ακυιτανοί τε καὶ Βελγικοί.' 6 αὐτοί τε καὶ οι έποικοί σφων Κελτών γάρ τινες. ούς δή Γερμανούς καλούμεν, πάσαν την πρός τώ 'Ρήνω Βελγικήν ε κατασγόντες Γερμανίαν ονομάζεσθαι εποίησαν, την μεν άνω την μετά τάς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πηγάς, την δὲ κάτω την μέχρι τοῦ 7 ώκεανού του Βρεττανικού ούσαν. ταυτά τε ούν καὶ ή Συρία ή κοίλη καλουμένη ή τε Φοινίκη καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Κύπρος καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος μερίδι τότε εγένοντο υστερον γαρ την μέν Κύπρον και την Γαλατίαν την περι Νάρβωνα τω δήμω ἀπέδωκεν, αύτος δε την Δελματίαν s άντέλαβε. και τούτο μέν και έπ' άλλων έθνων μετά ταθτ' ἐπράχθη, ως που καὶ ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ λόγου δηλώσει ταύτα δε ούτω κατέλεξα, ότι νύν γωρίς έκαστον αύτων ήγεμονεύεται, έπει το νε άρχαιον και έπι πολύ και σύνδυο και σύντρια τά ο έθνη άμα ήρχετο. των δε δη λοιπων ουκ έμνημόνευσα, ότι τὰ μέν υστερον αυτών προσεκτήθη, τὰ δέ, εἰ καὶ τότε ήδη ἐκεχείρωτο, ἄλλ' ούτι γε καὶ υπό των 'Ρωμαίων ήρχετο, άλλ' ή αυτόνομα άφείτο ή και βασιλείαις τισίν επετέτραπτο καί

Bearing Ba., Bearing VM.

^{*} Βελγικής Βα., βελτικής VM. * προσεκτήθη V, προσεκτήθη Μ. 2 тоте M. otn V.

Libya, Bithynia with Pontus which adjoined it, ac. 27 Sardinia and Bactica were held to belong to the people and the scoate; while to Caesar belonged the remainder of Spain,-that is, the district of Tarraco and Lusitania,-and all the Gauls,-that is, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugdonensis, Aquitania, and Belgica, both the natives themselves and the aliens among them. For some of the Celts, whom we call Germans,1 had occupied all the Belgic territory along the Rhine and caused it to be called Germany,2 the upper portion extending to the sources of that river, and the lower portion reaching to the British Ocean. These provinces, then, together with Coele-Syria, as it is called, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus and Egypt, fell at that time to Caesar's share; for afterwards he gave Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis back to the people, and for himself took Dalmatia instead. This same course was followed subsequently in the case of other provinces also, as the progress of my narrative will show; but I have enumerated these provinces in this way because at the present time each one of them is governed separately, whereas in the beginning and for a long period thereafter they were administered two and three together. The others I have not mentioned because some of them were acquired later, and the rest, even if they were already subjugated, were not being governed by the Romans, but either had been left autonomous or had been attached to some kingdom or other.3 All

See note on xxxviii. 34.

2 Cl. chap, 26 and liv, 0,

Dio's name for Germany proper is Kakrori; when he uses the name repairie, as here, he refers to the provinces of that name, Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, both lying west of the Rhine.

αὐτῶν ὅσα μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀφίκετο, τῷ ἀεὶ κρατοῦντι προσετέθη.

Τὰ μέν οὐν ἔθνη οῦτω διηρέθη, βουληθείς δὲ δὴ 13 και ως ο Καίσαρ πόρρω σφάς άπαγαγείν του τι μουαρχικου φρουείν δοκείν, ές δέκα έτη την άργην τών δοθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη τοσούτω τε γὰρ χρόνω καταστήσειν αὐτὰ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ προσενεανιεύσατο είπων ότι, αν και θάττον ήμερωθή, θάττον 2 αύτοις και έκεινα αποδώσει. κάκ τούτου πρώτον μέν αὐτούς τοὺς βουλευτάς έκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, πλήν Αίγυπτίων, άρχειν κατέδειξεν (έκείνοις γάρ δή μόνοις τον ώνομασμένον ίππέα, δι' άπερ είπου, προσέταξεν). έπειτα δε τους μεν και επετησίους καί κληρωτούς είναι, πλην εί τω πολυπαιδίας ή 3 γάμου προνομία προσείη, καὶ έκ τε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συλλόγου πέμπεσθαι μήτε ξίφος παραζωννυμένους μήτε στρατιωτική έσθητι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλείσθαι μή ὅτι τοὺς δύο τοὺς ύπατευκότας άλλα και τους άλλους τους έκ του 4 έστρατηγηκότων ή δοκούντων γε έστρατηγηκέναι μόνον όντας, ραβδούχοις τέ σφας έκατέρους όσοισπερ καὶ εν τῷ άστει νενόμισται χρησθαι, καί τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἄμα

1 In li. 17, 1.

² The details of the earlier legislation of Augustus (cf. liv. 16, 1; lv. 2, 6) in the interest of more marriages and larger families are not clear; but as finally embedded in the Lex Julia et Papia Poppaca (cf. lvi. 10), the special privileges of a father of three legitimate children (the instrium liberorum).

of them which came into the Roman empire after a.c. 27 this period were added to the provinces of the one

who was emperor at the time.

Such, then, was the apportionment of the provinces. And wishing, even then, to lead the Romans a long way from the idea that he was at all monarchical in his purposes, Caesar undertook for only ten years the government of the provinces assigned him; for he promised to reduce them to order within this period, and boastfully added that, if they should be pacified sooner, he would the sooner restore them, too, to the senate. Thereupon he first appointed the senators themselves to govern both classes of provinces, except Egypt. province alone he assigned to a knight, the one we have already named, for the reasons mentioned there. Next he ordained that the governors of senatorial provinces should be annual magistrates, chosen by lot, except when a senator enjoyed a special privilege because of the large number of his children or because of his marriage.2 These governors were to be sent out by vote of the senate in public meeting; they were to carry no sword at their belt nor to wear military uniform; the name of proconsul was to belong not only to the two exconsuls but also to the others who had merely served as practors or who held at least the rank of expraetors; both classes were to employ as many lictors as were usual in the capital; and they were

included the right to receive inheritances left to bachelors (who could not inherit), preference in standing for the various offices, including the right to be a candidate before the regular age or without the usual interval between offices, precedence before equals and colleagues, and exemption from certain civic obligations.

τω έξω του πωμηρίου γενέσθαι προστίθεσθαι καί διά παντός μέχρις αν ανακομισθώσιν έγειν εκέδ λευσε. τους δε έτέρους ύπο τε έαυτου αιρείσθαι καί πρεσβευτάς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὁνομάζεσθαι, καν έκ των ύπατευκότων ώσι, διέταξε. των γαρ δη δύο τούτων ονομάτων έπὶ πλείστον έν τη δημοκρατία άνθησάντων, το μέν του στρατηγου τοις αίρετοις ώς και τω πολέμω ι άπο του πάνυ άρχαίου προσήκου έδωκευ, άντιστρατήγους σφάς προσειπών, το δε δή των υπάτων τοίς έτέροις ώς καὶ είρηνικωτέροις, άνθυπάτους αύτους 6 έπικαλέσας. αυτά μέν γάρ τὰ ὁνόματα, τό τε του στρατηγού και τὸ του ὑπάτου, ἐν τῆ Ἱταλία έτήρησε, τους δε έξω πάντας ώς και άντ εκείνων άρχουτας προσηγόρευσε. τη τε οδυ ἐπικλήσει τῆ τῶν ἀυτιστρατήγων τοὺς αίρετοὺς χρησθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρόνον, ἐφ' ὁσον ἀν έαυτῶ δόξη, άρχειν ἐποίησε, τήν τε στρατιωτικήν σκευήν φορούντας και ξίφος, οίς γε και στρατιώ-7 τας δικαιώσαι έξεστιν, έχουτας, άλλω γάρ οὐδενί ούτε ανθυπάτφ ούτε άντιστρατήγω ούτε έπιτρόπω ξιφηφορείν δέδοται, ώ μη και στρατιώτην τινά αποκτείναι έξείναι νενόμισται ου γάρ ότι τοίς Βουλευταίς αλλά και τοις ίππεύσιν, οις τουθ' 8 υπάρχει, καὶ ἐκείνο συγκεχώρηται. ταθτα μέν οθν ούτως έχει, ραβδούγοις δε δη πέντε πάντες ομοίως οι άντιστράτηγοι χρώνται, και όσοι γε ούκ έκ τών υπατευκότων είσι, και δυομάζουται έπ' αυτού του

1 τώ πολίμω Μ, τοῦ πολίμου V,

3 Legati Augusti pro pruetore.

² The expression to which Dio here refers is apparently the adjective quanquefusculis, found in inscriptional Latin.

to assume the insignin of their office immediately as a opon leaving the pomerium and were to wear them constantly until they returned. The other governors. on the other hand, were to be chosen by the emperor himself and were to be called his envoys and propraetors,1 even if the men selected were exconsuls. Thus, of these two titles which had been in vogue so long under the republic, he gave that of practor to the men chosen by him, on the ground that from very early times it had been associated with warfare, calling them propraetors; and he gave the name of consul to the others, on the ground that their duties were more peaceful, styling them proconsuls. For he reserved the full titles of consul and practor for Italy, and designated all the governors outside of Italy as acting in their stead. So, then, he caused the appointed governors to be known as propractors and to hold office for as much longer than a year as should please him; he made them wear the military uniform, and a sword, with which they are permitted to execute even soldiers. For no one else, whether proconsul, propraetor, or procurator, has been given the privilege of wearing a sword without also having been accorded the right to put a soldier to death; indeed, this right has been granted, not only to the senators, but also to the knights who are entitled to wear a sword. So much for this. All the propraetors alike employ five lictors, and, indeed, all of them except those who were ex-consuls at the time of appointment to governorships receive their title from this very number.2 Both classes alike assume the decorations

All the editions previous to that of Boissevain gave "six lictors," an error corrected by Mommsen (Romisches Stauts-recht, 12, p. 369, note 4).

άριθμοῦ τούτου. τά τε τῆς ἡγεμονίας κοσμήματα, όταν τε ἐς τὴν προστεταγμένην σφίσι χώραν ἐσέλθωσιν, ἐκάτεροι ὁμοίως ἀναλαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν διάρξωσιν, εὐθὺς κατατίθενται.

14 Ούτω μέν και έπι τούτοις έκ τε των έστρατηγηκότων καὶ ἐκ τών ὑπατευκότων ἄρχοντες άμφοτέρωσε πέμπεσθαι ένομίσθησαν, και αυτών ά μέν αυτοκράτωρ όποι τέ τινα και ύπότε ήθελεν έστελλε, και πολλοί και στρατηγούντες και ύπατεύοντες ήγεμονίας έθνων έσγου, ο καὶ 1 νύν 2 έστιν ότε γίγνεται τη δέ δη βουλή ίδια μέν τοίκ τε υπατευκόσι τήν τε 'Αφρικήν και την 'Ασίαν καί τοις έστρατηγηκόσι τὰ λοιπά πάντα ἀπένειμε, κοινή δέ δή πάσιν αὐτοῖς άπηγόρευσε μηδένα πρό πέντε έτων μετά τὸ έν τη πόλει άρξαι 3 κληρούσθαι, και χρόνοι μέν τινι πάντες οί τοιούτοι, εί και πλείους των έθνων ήσαν, ελάγ. γανον αὐτά: ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδή τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλώς ήρχου, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ ἐκείνοι προσετέθησαν, και ούτω και τούτοις αύτος τρόπου ι τινά τὰς ήγεμονίας δίδωσιν. ἰσαρίθμους τε γὰρ τοίς έθνεσι, και ούς αν έθελήση, κληρούσθαι κελεύει. αίρετούς τέ τινες και έκείσε έπεμψαν, και έπι πλείω ένιαυτού χρόνον έστιν οις άρξαι έπέτρεψαν καί τινες καὶ ἐππεῦσιν ἀντὶ τῶν βουλευτών έθνη τινά προσέταξαν.

1 sal Bk., Tr VM.

of their position of authority when they enter their he as appointed province and lay them aside immediately

upon completing their term of office.

It was thus and on these conditions that the custom was established of sending out ex-praetors and ex-consuls respectively as governors of the two classes of provinces. In the one case, the emperor would commission a governor to any province he wished and when he wished, and many secured provincial commands while still practors or consuls, as sometimes happens even at the present day. the case of the senatorial provinces, he assigned Asia and Africa on his own responsibility to the ex-consuls, and all the other provinces to the expractors; but by public decree, applicable to all the senatorial governors, he forbade the allotment of any senator to a governorship before the expiration of five years from the time he had held office in the city.1 For a time all who fulfilled these requirements, even if they exceeded the number of the provinces, were allotted to governorships; but later, inasmuch as some of them did not govern well, the appointment of these officials, too, was put in the emperor's hands. And thus it is, in a manner of speaking, the emperor who assigns these governors also to their commands; for he always orders the allotment of precisely the number of governors that there are provinces, and orders to be drawn whomsoever he pleases. Some emperors have sent men of their own choosing to these provinces also, and have allowed certain of them to hold office for more than a year; and some have assigned certain provinces to knights instead of to senators.

¹ This was merely a renewal of the decree of 52 s.c. which had remained in force. Cf. sl. 48, 2, and lii. 20, 4.

5 Ταύτα μέν ούτω τότε περί τούς βουλευτάς τούς γε και βανατούν τους άρχομένους έξουσίαν έχοντας ένομίσθη, πέμπονται γάρ και οίς ούκ έξεστι τούτο, ές μεν τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς λεγόμενα έθνη οι τε ταμιεύοντες, ούς άν ὁ κλήρος άποδείξη, και οι παρεδρεύοντες τοις το κύρος της 6 άρχης έχουσιν. ούτω γάρ άν όρθως αὐτούς, οὐ πρός το δυομα άλλα πρός την πράξιν, ώσπερ είπου, καλέσαιμι, έπει οι γει άλλοι πρεσβευτάς καὶ τούτους ελληνίζοντες ονομάζουσι, καὶ περί μέν της επικλήσεως ταύτης άρκούντως έν τοίς 7 άνω λόγοις είρηται, τούς δε δή παρέδρους αύτος έαυτώ έκαστος αίρειται, ένα μέν οι έστρατηγηκότες έκ των ομοίων σφίσιν ή και των υποδεεστέρων, τρείς δε οι ύπατευκότες και έκ των όμοτιμων, ους αν και ο αυτοκράτωρ δοκιμάση. εκαινοτομήθη μέν γάρ τι και κατά τούτους, άλλ' έπειδή ταχύ

έπαύσατο, άρκέσει τότε αὐτό λεχθήναι.

15 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου ἔθνη ταῦθ οὕτω γίγνεται πέμπονται δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἔτερα, τὰ τοῦ τε αὐτοκράτορος ὀνομαζόμενα καὶ πολιτικὰ ατρατόπεδα πλείω ἐνὸς ἔχοντα, οἱ ὑπάρξοντές αφων, ὑπ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τεταμιευκότων ἤ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρχήν τῶν διὰ μέσου ἀρξάντων αἰρούμενοι.

1 34 H. Steph., Ti VM.

BOOK LHI

These were the principles established at that no st time in regard to the particular class of senators who had the right to inflict the death penalty upon their subjects in the provinces. For it should be stated that there is a class who have not this right,those, namely, who are sent to the provinces styled the "provinces of the senate and people,"-I mean those who serve either as quaestors, being designated by lot to this office, or as assessors I to those who hold the actual authority. For this would be the correct way for me to style these officials, having regard not to their name, but to their duties as just described, although others in hellenizing their title call these also "envoys." Concerning this title, however, enough has been said in what precedes.3 As to assessors in general, each governor chooses his own, the ex-practors selecting one from their peers or even from their inferiors, and the ex-consuls three from among those of equal rank, subject to the emperor's approval. For, although a certain change was made in regard to these men also, yet it soon lapsed and it will be sufficient to mention it at the proper time.

This is the system followed in the case of the provinces of the people. To the others, which are called the imperial provinces and have more than one citizen-legion, are sent officials who are to govern them as lieutenants; these are appointed by the emperor himself, generally from the ex-practors, though also from the ex-quaestors, or men who have held an office between the practorship and the

quaestorship.

Legati. Cf. 1v. 27, 6.

^{*} wees Beerzi. This, the literal translation of legals, was in fact the ordinary Greek term. 2 See chap. 13, 5.

2 Υων μέν δη ουν βουλευώντων ταυτα έχεται, έκ δε δη των ιππέων τούς τε χιλιάρχους, και τούς Βουλεύσουτας και τούς λοιπούς, ών περί της διαφοράς άνω μοι τοῦ λόγου προείρηται, αὐτὸς ό αυτοκράτωρ τους μέν ές τὰ πολιτικά τείχη μόνα τους δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ξενικὰ ἀποστέλλει, ώσπερ τότε 3 πρός του - Καίσαρος ένομίσθη καὶ τους έπιτρό. πους (ούτω γάρ τους τάς τε κοινάς προσόδους έκλέγοντας και τὰ προστεταγμένα σφίσιν άναλίσκουτας ονομάζομεν) ές πάντα όμοίως τὰ έθνη, τά τε έαυτοῦ δη καὶ τὰ τοῦ δημου, τούς μέν έκ των ιππέων τους δέ και έκ των απελευθέρων πέμπει. πλην καθ' όσον τούς φόρους οι ανθύπατοι παρ' 4 ων άρχουσιν έσπράσσουσιν. Εντολάς τέ τινας καί τοις έπιτρόποις και τοις άνθυπάτοις τοις τε άντιστρατήγοις δίδωσιν, όπως έπὶ ρητοίς έξίωσιν. καί γάο τούτο και τὸ μισθοφοράν και έκείνοις 5 και τοις άλλοις δίδοσθαι τότε ένομίσθη. το μέν γάρ πάλαι έργολαβούντές τινες παρά του δημασίου πάντα σφίσι τὰ πρὸς τὴν άρχὴν φέροντα παρείγου έπλ δὲ δη τοῦ Καίσαρος πρώτον αὐτοὶ έκεινοι τακτόν τι λαμβάνειν ήρξαντο. και τούτο μέν ούκ έκ του ίσου πασί σφισιν, άλλ' ώς που καὶ ή γρεία ἀπήτει, ἐτάγθη καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τοῦ δ άξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ άριθμού των διδομένων αύτοις γρημάτων προσ-

¹ Во лебиотат Dind. . Ворлебиаттат VM.

^{*} τοι Βε., αύτοῦ τοῦ VM.
* τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM.
* τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦ VM.
* τὸ τοῦ Βἰ., τοῦτο VM.

These positions, then, appertain to the senators, me at Passing now to the knights, the emperor himself seleets knights to be sent out as military tribunes (both those who are prospective senators and the others: concerning their difference in rank I have already spoken 1), despatching some of them to take command of the garrisons of purely citizen-legions, and others of the foreign legions as well. In this matter he follows the custom then instituted by Caesar. The procurators (for this is the name we give to the men who collect the public revenues and make disbursements according to the instructions given them) he sends out to all the provinces alike, to those of the people as well as to his own, and to this office knights are sometimes appointed and sometimes even freedmen; but the proconsuls may exact the tribute from the people they govern. The emperor gives instructions to the procurators, the proconsuls, and the propraetors, in order that they may be under definite orders when they go out to their provinces. For both this practice and the giving of salaries to them and to the other officials was established at this time. In former times, of course, certain persons had made a business of furnishing the officials with all they needed for the conduct of their office, drawing upon the treasury for the money; but under Caesar these officials now for the first time began to receive a fixed salary. This was not assigned to them all on the same basis, but approximately as their needs required; and the procurators, indeed, get the very title of their rank from the amount of the salaries assigned to them.2

1 In lii. 25, 6 f.

² i.e. centenerii, dacenarii, and irecenarii, receiving one lumitred, two hundred, and three hundred thousand sesterces respectively.

- Β γύγνεται. ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ἐνομοθετήθη, μήτε καταλόγονς σφᾶς ποιεῖσθαι, μήτὰ ἀργύριον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐσπράσσειν, εἰ μὴ ἤτοι ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσαιτο ἡ όὶ αὐτοκράτωρ κελεύσειεν ὅταν τὰ τφ ὁ διάδοχος ἔλθη, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἔθνονς αὐτίκα αὐτον ἔξορμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνακομιδῷ μὴ ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀλλ ἐντὸς τριῶν μηνῶν ἐπανιέναι.
- 16 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω τότε ῶς γε εἰπεῖν διετάχθη τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ καὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτὸς ὁ Καισαρ, ἄτε καὶ τῶν χρημάτων κυριεύων (λόγω μὲν γὰρ τὰ δημόσια ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου ἀπεκέκριτο, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνηλίσκετο) καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κρατῶν, αὐταρ.

2 χήσειν έμελλε. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελθούσης άλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἶτα πέντε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἔτερα αὐθις δέκα καὶ άλλα δέκα, πεμπτάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ώστε τῆ τῶν δεκετηρίδων * δια-

3 δοχή διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχήσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτ' ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι, ὅμως διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὡς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐθις τότε ἀνανεούμενοι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίγνεται.

Ο δ΄ οὖν Καΐσαρ πολλά μὲν καὶ πρότερου.
ὅτε τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐξωμοσίας τῆς μοναρχίας καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν διανομῆς διελέχθη.
και γαρ τὸ τε τὰς δάψνας πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων.

I & supplied by R. Steph,

² каї біла біла вирріїє і ву Монгови. В жерживия Zon., вержийка в VM.

δεκετηρίδων Χίρι., δεκετηρίδων Ζου., δεκετηρίων V Μ.
 πρώτερων Rk., πρώτερα V Μ.
 δεκείχθη Μ. δεεκέγχθη V.

The following regulations were laid down for them ac 27 all alike: they were not to raise levies of soldiers or to exact money beyond the amount appointed, unless the senate should so vote or the emperor so order; and when their successors arrived, they were to leave the province at once, and not to delay on the return journey, but to get back within three months.

These regulations were established at that time, to speak generally; for in reality Caesar himself was destined to have absolute control of all matters for all time, because he was not only master of the funds (nominally, to be sure, he had separated the public funds from his own, but as a matter of fact, he always spent the former also as he saw fit), but also commanded the soldiers. At all events, when his ten year period came to an end, there was voted to him another five years, then five more, after that ten, and again another ten, and then ten for the fifth time, so that by the succession of ten-year periods he continued to be sole ruler for life. And it is for this reason that the subsequent emperors, though no longer appointed for a specified period, but for their whole life once for all, nevertheless always held a celebration every ten years, as if then renewing their sovereignty once more; and this is done even at the present day.

Now Caesar had received many privileges and honours even previously, when the question of declining the sovereignty and that of apportioning the provinces were under discussion. For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence

αύτου προτίθεσθαι, και τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν δρύινον ύπερ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οι ώς καὶ ἀεὶ τούς τε πολεμίους νικώντι και τούς πολίτας 5 σώζουτι εψηφίσθη. (καλείται δε τὰ βασίλειο παλάτιον, ούγ ότι καὶ έδοξέ ποτε ούτως αυτά ονομάζεσθαι, άλλ' ότι έν τε τω Παλατίω ά Καίσαρ ώκει καὶ έκει τὸ στρατήγιον είχε, καί τινα και πρός την του Ρωμύλου προενοίκησιν φήμην ή οικία αύτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ παυτός όρους! ε έλαβε και δια τούτο καν άλλοθί που ο αύτοκράτωρ καταλύη, την του παλατίου ἐπίκλησιν ή καταγωγή αὐτοῦ ίσχει). ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶ ἔργω αὐτὰ ἐπετέλεσεν, οὕτω δη και το τοῦ Αὐγούστου όνομα καὶ παρά της βουλής καὶ παρά του δήμου 7 επέθετο. Βουληθέντων γάρ σφων ίδίως πως αὐτὸν προσειπείν, καὶ τών μέν τὸ τών δὲ τὸ καὶ έσηγουμένων και αίρουμένων, ο Καίσαρ έπεθύμει μέν Ισγυρώς Τωμύλος δνομασθήναι, αισθόμενος δέ ότι υποπτεύεται έκ τούτου της βασιλείας ε έπιθυμείν, οὐκέτ αὐτοῦ ἀντεποιήσατο, άλλά Αύγουστος ώς και πλείον τι ή κατά άνθρώπους δον επεκλήθη πάντα γάρ τὰ εντιμότατα και τὰ ιερώτατα αύγουστα προσαγορεύεται. έξ ούπερ και σεβαστόν αυτόν και έλληνίζοντές πως, ώσπερ τινα σεπτόν, από του σεβάζεσθαι, προσείπον.

17 Οῦτω μὲν δὴ τό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ τῆς γερουσίας κράτος πῶν ἐς τὸν Αῦγουστον μετέστη, καὶ ἀπὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκριβὴς μοναρχία κατέστη μοναρχία γάρ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἄμα τὸ κῦρὸς ποτε ἔσχον, ἀληθέστατα ὁν νομίζοιτο.

¹ apart H. Steph., apar V. apar M. a aeBallenta Zon., reflecta VM.

and to hang the crown of oak above them was then a.c. 27 voted him to symbolize that he was always victor over his enemies and the saviour of the citizens. The royal residence is called Paiatium, not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name, but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine 1 and had his military headquarters there, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the mount as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium. And when Caesar had actually carried out his promises, the name Augustus was at length bestowed upon him by the senate and by the people. For when they wished to call him by some distinctive title, and men were proposing one title and another and urging its selection, Caesar was exceedingly desirous of being called Romulus, but when he perceived that this caused him to be suspected of desiring the kingship, he desisted from his efforts to obtain it, and took the title of "Augustus," signifying that he was more than human; for all the most precious and sacred objects are termed augusta. Therefore they addressed him also in Greek as Schastos,2 meaning an august personage, from the passive of the verb sebazo, " to revere."

In this way the power of both people and senate passed entirely into the hands of Augustus, and from his time there was, strictly speaking, a monarchy; for monarchy would be the truest name for it, no matter if two or three men did later hold the power at the

* CX. 16, 49,

In both Greek and Latin the common form of the name for the Palatine (Bahárior and Polatinm) is the same as that for the imperial residence. It is hardly necessary to state that Palatium has given the English " palace."

2 το μέν γάρ δνομα αὐτο το μοναρχικόν οῦτω δή τι οί 'Ρωμαΐοι έμίσησαν ώστε μήτε δικτάτορας μήτε Βασιλέας μήτ' άλλο τι τοιουτότροπον τους αύτοκρώτοράς σφων δνομάζειν του δέ δή της πολιτείας τέλους ές αὐτούς ἀνακειμένου οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ 3 βασιλεύονται, οί μεν γάρ άρχοι οί έκ των νόμων ώς πλήθει γενόμεναι και νύν πλήν της των τιμητών καθίστανται, διάγεται δέ καὶ διοικείται πάντα άπλως όπως αν ο άει κρατών έθελήση. και ίνα γε μη έκ δυναστείας άλλ' έκ των νόμων τούτ έχειν δοκώσι, πάνθ' όσα έν τη δημοκρατία μέγα παρ' έκοθσί σφισιν Ισχυσεν, αύτοις τοις ονόμασι χωρίς του της δικτατορίας προσεποιή. 4 σαντο. ὖπατοί τε γὰρ πλειστάκις γίγνονται, καὶ άνθύπατοι άεί, οσάκις άν έξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ώσεν, ουομάζονται τήν τε του αυτοκράτορος πρόσρησιν διά παντός οὐ μόνον οἱ νικήσαντές τινας άλλά και οι άλλοι πάντες, πρός δήλωσιν της αυτοτελούς σφων έξουσίας, άντι της του βασιλίως του 3 τε δικτάτορος έπικλήσεως έχουσιν. αυτάς μέν γαρ έκείνας ου τίθενται, έπειδήπερ απαξ έκ της πολιτείας έξέπεσου, το δε δή έργου αυτών τη του αὐτοκράτορος προσηγορία βεβαιούνται. και ἐκ μέν τούτων των ἀνομάτων καταλόγους τε ποιείσθαι και χρήματα άθροίζειν πολέμους τε άναια ρείσθαι και ειρήνην σπένδεσθαι, του τε Εενικού καί του πολιτικού αξί και πανταγού όμοιως άργειν, ώστε καὶ έντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου και τοὺς ίππέας και τούς Βουλευτάς θανατούν δύνασθαι,

same time.1 The name of monarchy, to be sure, the accer Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the curperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship. Thus, they very often became consuls, and they are always styled proconsuls whenever they are outside the pomerium. The name of "imperator" is held by them all for life, not only by those who have won victories in battle, but also by those who have not, in token of their independent authority, and this has displaced the titles " king " and " dictator." These last titles they have never assumed since the time they first fell out of use in the conduct of the government, but the functions of those offices are secured to them under the appellation of "imperator." By virtue of the titles named they secure the right to make levies, to collect funds, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners and citizens alike everywhere and always,-even to the extent of being able to put to death both knights and senators inside the pomerium, -- and all the other

See note on \$ 8 inf.

τά τε άλλα όσα τοις τε ύπάτοις και τοις άλλοις τοίς αυταρχήσασί ποτε ποιείν έξην, λαμθάνουσιν 7 έκ δε δή του τιμητεύειν τούς τε βίους και τούς τρόπους ήμων έξετάζουσι, και απογραφάς ποιούνται καὶ τοὺς μέν καταλέγουσι καὶ ές τὴν ίππάδα και ές το βουλευτικόν, τους δέ και άπακ λείφουσιν, όπως όν αὐτοίς δύξη. έκ τε τοῦ ἐν πάσαις ταις ιερωσύναις ιερώσθαι και προσέτι και τοις άλλοις τὰς πλείους σφών διδόναι, άρχιέρεών τέ τινα αὐτῶν, κὰν δύο κὰν τρείς ἄμα ἄρχωσιν, είναι, πάντων αὐτοι και των οσίων και των ιερών! υ κυριεύουσιν. ή τε έξουσία ή δημαρχική καλουμένη, ην οι πάνυ ποτε ανθήσαντες έσχον, δίδωσί σφισι τά τε έπεγεγεύμενα ύφ' έτέρου τινός, άν μη συνεπαινώσι, παύειν, και μήθ' υβρίζεσθαι, κάν άρα τι και το βραγύτατον μη ότι έργω άλλα και λόγω άδικεϊσθαι δόξωσι, και άκριτον τον ποιή-10 σαντα αύτο ώς και έναγη απολλύναι. δημαρχείν μέν γάρ, άτε και ές τους ευπατρίδας πάντως τελούντες, ούχ δσιον νομίζουσιν είναι την δε δή δύναμιν την των δημάρχων πάσαν, δσηπερ τὰ μάλιστα έγένετο, προστίθενται, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ή έξαρίθμησις των έτων της άρχης αυτών, ώς καί κατ' έτος αὐτὴν μετά τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων

¹ lepar R. Stoph., lepiar V Xiph., laprar M.

¹ Up to the time when Dio wrote these words it was true that when two or more jointly held the imperial power has Marcus Aurelius with L. Verus, and Septimius Severus with

privileges once granted to the consuls and other as a officials possessing independent authority; and by virtue of holding the censorship they investigate our lives and morals as well as take the census, enrolling some in the equestrian and senatorial classes and erasing the names of others from these classes, according to their will. By virtue of being consecrated in all the priesthoods and of their right to bestow most of these positions upon others, as well as from the fact that, even if two or three persons hold the imperial office at the same time, one of them is high priest,1 they hold in their own bands supreme authority over all matters both profane and sacred. The tribunician power, as it is called, which used to be conferred only upon men of the greatest influence, gives them the right to nullify the effects of measures taken by any other official, in ease they do not approve it, and makes them immune from scurrilous abuse 2; and if they appear to be wronged in even the slightest degree, not merely by deed, but even by word, they may destroy the guilty party, as one accursed, without a trial. The emperors, it should be explained, do not think it right to be tribunes, inasmuch as they belong altogether to the patrician class, but they assume the power of the tribunes to its full extent, as it was when it was greatest; and in numbering the years they have held the imperial office they use the tribunician power to mark the stages, the theory being that they receive it year by year along with those who are regularly

his two sons) only one of them was postifex maximus. But a few years later, in 238, Balbinus and Maximus both claimed the title.

² Cf. vol. i. p. 127 ff., xlix. 15, 5-6.

11 λαμβανόντων, προβαίνει. ταύτα μέν έκ τῆς δημοκρατίας, ώς που και έκαστα ενομίσθη, ούτω τε και διά τούτων των ονομάτων ειλήφασιν, όπως

18 μηδεν άνευ δόσεως τινος έχειν δοκώσιν ήδη δε και έτερον τι, δ μηδενί των πάλαι Ρωμαίων ές πάντα άντικρυς έδόθη, προσεκτήσαντο, υφ' οίπερ. και μόνου καὶ ἐκείνα ἀν καὶ τάλλα αὐτοῖς πρώττειν έξην. λέλυνται γαρ δη των νόμων, ως αυτά τὰ Λατίνα ρήματα λέγει τουτ έστιν έλεύθεροι άπο πάσης άναγκαίας νομίσεώς είσι και ούδενι 2 των γεγραμμένων ένέχουται. και ούτως έκ τούτων των δημοκρατικών ονομάτων πάσαν την της πολιτείας Ισχύν περιβέβληνται ώστε και τά των βασιλέων, πλην του φορτικού της προσηγορίας αὐτῶν, ἔχειν. ή γὰρ δη τοῦ Καίσαρος ή τε του Αύγούστου πρόσρησις δύναμιν μέν ούδεμίαν αὐτοίς οἰκείαν προστίθησι, δηλοί δ' άλλως το μέν την του γένους σφών διαδοχήν, το δε την α τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα. καὶ ή γε τοῦ πατρός ἐπωνυμία τάχα μὲν καὶ ἐξουσίαν τωὰ

αὐτοῖς, ην ποτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τοὺς παίδας ἔσχον, κατά πάντων ήμων δίδωσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτο άρχην έγένετο άλλ' ές τε τιμήν και ές παραίνεσιν, ίν αύτοί τε τους άρχομένους ώς και

I That is, they measured the length of their reign by tribunician years, dating either from the very day when the tribunician power was conferred upon them even if before

made tribunes.1 These are the institutions which as a they have taken over from the republic, essentially. in the form in which they severally existed then. and also making use of these same names, their purpose being to create the impression that they possess no power that has not been granted them. And further, they have acquired also another prerogative which was given to none of the ancient Romans outright and unreservedly, and the possession of this alone would enable them to exercise the powers above named and the others besides. For they have been released from the laws, as the very words in Latin declare; that is, they are free from all compulsion of the laws and are bound by none of the written ordinances. Thus by virtue of these democratic names they have clothed themselves with all the powers of the government, to such an extent that they actually possess all the prerogatives of kings except their paltry title. For the appellation "Caesar" or "Augustus" confers upon them no peculiar power, but merely shows in the one case that they are heirs of the family to which they belong, and in the other the splendour of their official position. The term "Father" perhaps gives them a certain authority over us all—the authority which fathers once had over their children; yet it did not signify this at first, but betokened honour. and served as an admonition both to them, that they should love their subjects as they would their

their accession, by way of designating them officially as anocessors to the imperial power), or (beginning with Trajan) from December 10th, the date of the regular tribunician elections.

² Princeps legibus solutus est. Ulpian (Digest,), 3, 31); cf. Motumsen, Staaterecht, ii², 728 ff.

24 I

παίδας άγαπφεν καὶ ἐκείνοί σφας ώς καὶ πατέρας αίδωνται.

Τοσαῦταί τε καὶ τοιαῦται αὶ προσηγορίαι εἰσὶν αἰς οἱ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντες κατά τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἡδη πάτριον νομίζουσι. καὶ νῦν μὲν πᾶσαι ἄμα αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸ πολύ, πλὴν τῆς τῶν τιμητῶν, δίδονται, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κατὰ χρόνους τῶς ἔκασται ἐψηφίζοντο. τὴν γὰρ δὴ τιμητείαν ἔλαβον μέν τινες καὶ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ Δομιτιανὸς ἱ διὰ βίου οὐ μέντοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο γίγνεται τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἔχοντες οὕτε αἰροῦνται ἐπ' αὐτήν, οὕτε τῆ προσκλήσει πὰτῆς πλὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀπογραφαῖς χρῶνται.

19 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρός τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκο-σμήθη καὶ γάρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἡν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθήναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὁμοίως τοῦς πρόσθεν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα πρα-

- και όμοιως τοις προσσέν τα μετά ταυτά πρα2 χθέντα λεχθήναι δύναται. πρότερον μεν γάρ ές
 τε την βουλήν και ές τον δήμον πάντα, και εί
 πόρρω που συμβαίη, εσεφέρετο και δια τοῦτο
 πάντες τε αὐτὰ εμάνθανον και πολλοί συνέγραφον, κάκ τούτου και ή ἀλήθεια αὐτῶν, εἰ και
 τὰ μάλιστα και φόβφ τινὰ και χάριτι φιλία
 τε και έχθρα τισὶν ερρήθη, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τὰ αὐτὰ γράψασι τοῖς τε ὑπομνήμασι
 3 τοῖς δημοσίοις τοῦπον τινὰ εὐρόσχετο ἐκ δὲ δὰ
- 3 τοις δημοσίοις τρόπον τινά ευρίσκετο. ἐκ δε δη τοῦ χρόνου ἐκείνου τὰ μεν πλείω κρύφα καὶ δι ἀπορρήτων γίγνεσθαι ήρξατο, εἰ δέ πού τινα καὶ

Δομιτιανδε R. Steph., δομητιανδε VM.
 τῆ προσελήσει Βα., τὴν πρόσκλησει VM.

BOOK LIII

children, and to their subjects, that they should me ar

Such is the number and nature of the appellations which those who possess the imperial power employ in accordance with the laws and with what has now become tradition. At present all of them are, as a rule, bestowed upon the emperors at one and the same time, with the exception of the title of censor; but to the earlier emperors they were voted separately at different times. As regards the censorship, some of them took it in accordance with the ancient practice, and Domitian, in fact, took it for life, but this is no longer done at the present day; for, inasmuch as they possess its powers, they are not elected to the office and do not use the title except in connexion with the census.

In this way the government was changed at that time for the better and in the interest of greater security; for it was no doubt quite impossible for the people to be saved under a republic. Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time can not be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and

δημοσιευθείη, άλλα ανεξέλεγκτά γε! όντα άπιστείται καὶ γὰρ λέγεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι πάντα πρός τὰ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατούντων τῶν τε παραδυνα-4 στενόντων σφίσι βουλήματα ύποπτεύεται, καί κατά τούτο πολλά μέν ού γιγνόμενα θρυλείται, πολλά δὲ καὶ πάνυ συμβαίνοντα άγνοείται. πάντα δὲ ὡς εἰπεῖν άλλως πως ἡ ὡς πράττεται διαθροείται. και μέντοι και το της άρχης μέγεθος τό τε των πραγμάτων πλήθος δυσχερεστάτην 5 την ακρίβειαν αυτών παρέχεται. έν τε γάρ τή Ρώμη συγνά και παρά τω ύπηκοω αυτής πολλά, πρός τε το πολέμιον αξί και καθ' ημέραν ώς είπειν γίγνεταί τι, περί ών το μέν σαφές ούδεις ραδίως έξω των πραττόντων αυτά γυγνώσκει, πλείστοι δ η δσοι οδδ' ακούουσι την άρχην δτι γέγονεν, δθενπερ καὶ έγω πάντα τὰ έξης, όσα γε 4 καὶ άναγκαΐον έσται είπειν, ώς που και δεδήμωται φράσω, είτ όντως ούτως είτε καὶ έτέρως πως έχει. προσέσται μέντοι τι αύτοις και της έμης δοξασίας, ές δσον ενδέχεται, εν οίς άλλο τι μάλλον ή τὸ θρυλούμενον ήδυνήθην έκ πολλών ών ανέγνων ή καί ήκουσα ή καὶ είδον τεκμήρασθαι.

20 Αύγουστος μέν δη ὁ Καίσαρ, ώσπερ είπον, ἐπωνομάσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ σημείον οὐ σμικρὸν εὐθὺς τότε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Τίβερις πελαγίσας πάσαν τῆν ἐν τοῖς πεδίους 'Ρώμην κατέλαβεν ὥστε πλείσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μάντεις ὅτι τε

¹ γε R. Steph., τε VM Xiph. ² τήτ Xiph., om. VM. ³ τε VM, τοια Xiph. ⁴ γε H. Steph., τε VM,

even though some things are perchance made public. Ac 27 they are distrusted just because they can not be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates. result, much that never occurs is noised abroad, and much that happens beyond a doubt is unknown, and in the case of nearly every event a version gains currency that is different from the way it really happened. Furthermore, the very magnitude of the empire and the multitude of things that occur render accuracy in regard to them most difficult. In Rome, for example, much is going on, and much in the subject territory, while, as regards our enemies, there is something happening all the time. in fact, every day, and concerning these things no one except the participants can easily have correct information, and most people do not even hear of them at all. Hence in my own narrative of later events, so far as they need to be mentioned, everything that I shall say will be in accordance with the reports that have been given out, whether it be really the truth or otherwise. In addition to these reports, however, my own opinion will be given, as far as possible, whenever I have been able, from the abundant evidence which I have gathered from my reading, from hearsay, and from what I have seen, to form a judgment that differs from the common report.

Caesar, as I have said, received the name of Augustus, and a sign of no little moment to him occurred that very night; for the Tiber overflowed and covered all of Rome that was on low ground, so that it was navigable for boats. From this sign the

έπὶ μέγα αὐξήσοι καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὑπο2 χειρίαν ἔξοι προέγνωσαν. χαριζομένων ὅ αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἄλλων ἄλλα,¹ Σέξτος τις Πακούουιος,² ὡς δ' ἔτεροι λέγουσιν 'Απούδιος, πάντας ἐξενίκησεν ἐν γὰρ τῷ συνεδρίῷ ἐαυτόν τὲ οἱ τὸν τῶν 'Ιβήρων τρόπου καθωσίωσε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. ἐπειδή τε ὁ Αὕγουστος ἐμποδών οἱ ἐγένετο, πρός τε τὸ πλήθος τὸ προσεστὸς ἐξεπήδησεν (ἐδημάρχει γάρ) καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, κατά τε τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς περινοστήσας, καθιερῶσαί σφας τῷ Αὐ4 γούστῷ κατηνάγκασεν ἀψ΄ οὐπερ καὶ νῦν προστρεπόμενοι τὸν κρατοῦντα λέγειν εἰώθαμεν ὅτι
"σοι καθωσιώμεθα."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ θῦσαι ἐπὶ τούτφ παυτας ἐποίει,
ἔν τε τῷ ὁμίλφ ποτὲ κληρονόμον ἔφη τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐξ ἴσου τῷ υἰεῖ καταλείψειν, οὐχ ὅτι
τι εἰχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἡθὲλησεν, ὁ καὶ
21 ἐγἐνετο· Αὐγουστος δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ τῷ ἄρχῷ
προσήκοντα προθυμότερον, ὡς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ δὴ
παρὰ πάντων αὐτὴν εἰληφώς, ἔπραττε, καὶ ἐνομοθέτει πολλά. οὐδὲν δὲ δέομαι καθ' ἔκαστον
ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, χωρὶς ἡ ὅσα τῷ συγγραφῷ
2 πρόσφορά ἐστι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς
ἔπειτα πραχθεῖσι ποιήσω, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὅχλου

¹ бала М, балас V. 2 Пакобонсая Вк., пакобые V М. 2 проотреженего: Вк., протреженего: V М.

soothsayers prophesied that he would rise to great see at heights and hold the whole city under his sway. And while various persons were trying to outbid one another in different kinds of flattery toward him, one Sextus Pacuvius, or, as others say, Apudius, surpassed them all. In the open senate, namely, he dedicated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards and advised the others to do the same. And when Augustus hindered him, he rushed out to the crowd that was standing near, and, as he was tribune, compelled first them and then the rest, as he went up and down the streets and lanes, to dedicate themselves to Augustus. From this episode we are wont even now to say, in appealing to the sovereign, "We have dedicated ourselves to you."

Pacuvius ordered all to offer sacrifice in view of this occurrence, and before the multitude he once declared that he was going to make Augustus his heir on equal terms with his own son,—not that he had much of anything, but because he hoped to receive still more; and so it actually turned out. Augustus attended to all the business of the empire with more zeal than before, as if he had received it as a free gift from all the Romans, and in particular he enacted many laws. I need not enumerate them all accurately one by one, but only those which have a bearing upon my history; and I shall follow this same course also in the case of later events, in order not to become wearisome

Inasmuch as Sextus Pacuvius Taurus is first heard of (as tribune) in a.c. 0, it is probable that Apudius is the proper form to be read here.

According to Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 11), the Celti-berians thought it wrong to survive a battle when the leader for whose preservation they had vowed their life (spiritum decoverant) had perished. Cf. Caesar, R.G. iii. 22.

γένωμαι πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἐπεσφέρων à μηδ' 3 αυτοί οι πάνυ αυτά μελετώντες άκριβούσιν. ου μέντοι καὶ πάντα ίδιογνωμονών ἐνομοθέτει, άλλ' έστι μεν α και ές το δημόσιον προεξετίθει, όπως, αν τι μη αρέση τινά, προμαθών επανορθώση. προετρέπετο τε γαρ πάνθ' οντινούν συμβουλεύειν οί, εί τίς τι άμεινου αὐτῶν ἐπινοήσειεν, καὶ παρρησίαν σφίσι πολλήν ένεμε, καί τινα καὶ μετέ-4 γραφε. το εέ δη πλείστον τούς τε υπάτους ή τον υπατον, οπότε και αυτος υπατεύοι, κάκ των άλλων άρχύντων ένα παρ' έκάστων, έκ τε τοῦ λοιπού των βουλευτών πλήθους πεντεκαίδεκα τούς κλήρω λαχόντας, συμβούλους ές έξάμηνον παρελάμβανεν, ώστε δι' αὐτών καὶ τοις άλλοις πάσι κοινούσθαι τρόπου τινά τὰ νομοθετούμενα 5 νομίζεσθαι. ἐσέφερε μὲν γάρ τινα καὶ ἐς πῶσαν την γερουσίαν, βέλτιου μέντοι νομίζων είναι το μετ' ολίγων καθ' ήσυχίαν τά τε πλείω και τά μείζω προσκοπείσθαι, τούτό τε έποίει και έστιν ο ότε και έδικαζε μετ' αὐτών. Εκρινε μέν γάρ και καθ' έαυτην ή βουλή πάσα ώς και πρότερου, καί τισι καὶ πρεσβείαις καὶ κηρυκείαις καὶ δήμων και βασιλέων έχρημάτιζεν, ο τε δήμος ές τὰς άρχαιρεσίας καὶ τὸ πλήθος αὐ συνελέγετο οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπράττετό τι δ μη καὶ ἐκεῖνον ήρεσκε. 7 τους γούν άρξοντας τους μέν αυτύς έκλεγόμενος προεβάλλετο, τους δε και έπι τῷ δήμω τῷ τε

¹ αλήρφ Χίρh., κλήρους VM. 2 βρεσεκ Χίρh, Ζου., βρεσεκ VM.

by introducing all that kind of detail that even the access men who devote themselves to such studies do not know to a nicety. He did not, however, enact all these laws on his sole responsibility, but some of them he brought before the public assembly in advance, in order that, if any features caused displeasure, he might learn it in time and correct them; for he encouraged everybody whatsoever to give him advice, in case any one thought of any possible improvement in them, and he accorded them complete liberty of speech, and actually changed some provisions of the proposed laws. Most important of all, he took as advisers for periods of six months the consuls (or the other consul, when he himself also held the office), one of each of the other kinds of officials, and fifteen men chosen by lot from the remainder of the senatorial body, with the result that all legislation proposed by the emperors is usually communicated after a fashion through this body to all the other senators; for although he brought certain matters before the whole senate, yet he generally followed this plan, considering it better to take under preliminary advisement most matters and the most important ones in consultation with a few; and sometimes he even sat with these men in the trial of cases. The senate as a body, it is true, continued to sit in judgment as before, and in certain cases transacted business with embassies and heralds, from both peoples and kings; and the people and the plebs, moreover, continued to meet for the elections; but nothing was done that did not please Caesar. It was he, at any rate, who selected and placed in nomination some of the men who were to hold office, and though in the case of others he adhered

όμίλο κατά το άρχαῖον ποιούμενος ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅπως μήτ' ἀνεπιτήδειοι μήτ' ἐκ παρακελεύσεως ἡ

καὶ δεκασμοῦ ἀποδεικνύωνται.1 Το μεν ούν σύμπαν ούτω την άρχην διώκησε, λέξω δέ και καθ' έκαστον δσα άναγκαϊδη έστι μετά των υπάτων, εφ' ων εγένετο, μνημονεύεσθαι. έν μεν γάρ τω προειρημένω έτει τὰς όδους τας έξω του τείχους δυσπορεύτους ύπ' άμελείας ορών ούσας τὰς μεν άλλας άλλοις τισί των βουλευτών επισκευώσαι τοις οικείοις τέλεσι προσέταξε, της δε δη Φλαμινίας αυτός, επειδήπερ έκστρατεύσειν δι' αυτής ήμελλεν, έπεμελήθη. 2 και ή μεν εύθυς τότε έγένετο, και διά τούτο καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἔν τε τῆ τοῦ Τι-Βέριδος γεφύρα καὶ ἐν `Αριμίνω ἐποιήθησαν αἰ δ΄ άλλαι υστερον, είτ ουν προς του δημοσίου. έπειδή μηδείς των βουλευτών ήδέως ανήλισκεν, είτε και πρός του Αυγούστου τις είπειν εθέλει. 3 επεσκευάσθησαν. οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι διακρίναι τοὺς θησαυρούς αὐτών, οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ ἀνδριάντας τινὰς ἐαυτοῦ ἀργυροῦς, πρός τε των φίλων και πρός δήμων τινών γεγονότας, ές νόμισμα κατέκοψε του δη και οικοθεν 4 πάνθ' όσα γε και έλεγε δαπανάν δοκείν και διά τούτο ούτ' εί ποτε έκ των δημοσίων τι χρημάτων ο αεί κρατών έλαβεν, ούτ εί ποτε αὐτὸς έδωκε, γνώμην έχω συγγράψαι. πολλάκις τε γάρ έκάτερου αυτών εγένετο, και τί αν τις ές δανείσματα ή και δωρεάς τὰ τοιαύτα καταλέγοι, ὁπότε και

¹ ἀποδεικνόωνται R. Steph., ἀποδείκνυνται VM Xiph. Zon. 1 έφ' St., έφ' VM. 1 Φλαμινίαι R. Steph., φλαμινίαι VM.

ι τόωνε R. Steph., τλαβε VM. ι ασταλέγοι Reim., και λέγοι VM.

to the ancient custom and left them under the con- no. 57 trol of the people and the plebs, yet he took care that none should be appointed who were unfit or

as the result of partisan cliques or bribery.

It was in this way, broadly speaking, that he administered the empire. I shall now relate in detail also such of his acts as call for mention, together with the names of the consuls under whom they were performed. In the year already named, perceiving that the roads outside the walls had become difficult to travel as the result of neglect, he ordered various senators to repair the others at their own expense, and he himself looked after the Flaminian Way, since he was going to lead an army out by that route. This road was finished promptly at that time, and statues of Augustus were accordingly erected on arches on the bridge over the Tiber and at Ariminum; but the other roads were repaired later, at the expense either of the public (for none of the senators liked to spend money upon them) or of Augustus, as one chooses to put it. For I am unable to distinguish between the two funds, no matter how extensively Augustus coined into money silver statues of himself which had been set up by certain of his friends and by certain of the subject peoples, purposing thereby to make it appear that all the expenditures which he claimed to be making were from his own means. Therefore I have no opinion to record as to whether a particular emperor on a particular occasion got the money from the public funds or gave it himself. For both courses were frequently followed; and why should one enter such expenditures as loans or as gifts respectively, when both the people and the emperor

τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνοις καὶ ὁ δήμος καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ

έπίκοινον ἀεί χρώνται;

5 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ό 1 Αύγουστος ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐξώρμησε μὲν ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὰν ἐνταῦθα ἐνδιέτριψεν ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ ἐπικηρυκεύσεσθαί οἰ ἐδόκουν, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀκατάστατα ἔτι, ὅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τἢ ἀλώσει σφῶν ἐπιγενομένων, ἢν. καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπογραφὰς ἔποιήσατο καὶ τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν διεκόσμησε. κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκείνην.

23 Μετά δὲ δὴ τοῦτο αὐτός τε τὸ ὄγδοον σὐν τῷ Ταύρω τῶ Στατιλίω ὑπάτευσε, καὶ ὁ ᾿Αγρίππας

2 τὰ Σέπτα ἀνομασμένα καθιέρωσεν όδὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐπισκευάσειν ὑπέσχετο, ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αρείω πεδίω στοαῖς πέριξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λεπίδου πρὸς τὰς φυλετικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας συνωκοδομημένα καὶ πλαξὶ λιθίναις καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν ἐπεκόσμησεν, Ἰούλια αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λύγούστου προσ-

3 αγορεύσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ούχ ὅπως φθόνον τινὰ ἐπ΄ αὐτοῖς ὡφλίσκανεν, ἀλλά καὶ πάνυ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ὁπάντων

ε ἐτιμᾶτο (αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὰ φιλανθρωπότατα καὶ τὰ εὐκλεέστατα τά τε συμφορώτατα καὶ συμβουλεύων οἱ καὶ συμπράττων οὐδὶ ἐπὶ βραχὰ τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν ἀντεποιεῖτο, ταῖς τε παρὶ αὐτοῦ τιμαῖς οὕτε ἐς πλεονεξίαν οὕτε ἐς ἀπόλαυσιν ἰδίαν ἐχρῆτο, ἀλλὶ ἔς τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνω καὶ ἐς τὰ

a supplied by R. Steph.

^{*} Інипричествования Cobet, інипримествовни VM.

^{2 720} M, om. V.

BOOK LIII

are constantly resorting to both the one and the action other indiscriminately?

These were the acts of Augustus at that time. He also set out to make an expedition into Britain, but on coming to the provinces of Gaul lingered there. For the Britons seemed likely to make terms with him, and the affairs of the Gauls were still unsettled, as the civil wars had begun immediately after their subjugation. He took a census of the inhabitants and regulated their life and government. From Gaul he proceeded into Spain, and established order there also.

After this he became consul for the eighth time, at 25 together with Statilius Taurus, and Agrippa dedicated the structure called the Saepta; for instead of undertaking to repair a road. Agrippa had adorned with marble tablets and paintings this edifice in the Campus Martius, which had been constructed by Lepidus with porticos all around it for the meetings of the comitia tributa, and he named it the Saepta Iulia in honour of Augustus. And Agrippa not only incurred no jealousy on this account, but was greatly honoured both by Augustus himself and by all the rest of the The reason was that he consulted and cooperated with Augustus in the most humane, the most celebrated, and the most beneficial projects. and yet did not claim in the slightest degree a share in the glory of them, but used the honours which the emperor bestowed, not for personal gain or enjoyment, but for the benefit of the donor himself and

5 τῷ ¹ δημοσίῳ συμφέρου), ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αύγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαίτια παρέπραττε καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἐαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλη ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυρα-

6 μίδας ἐσέγραψε." κατηγορήθη τε οὐν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐαλερίου Λάργου, ἐταίρου τέ οἱ καὶ συμβιωτοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἢτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Λύγούστου, ὡστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αὐτοῦ κωλυθῆναι διαιτάσθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτῶ συχνοὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ γραφὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς

7 ἀπήνεγκαν, καὶ ή γερουσία ἄπασα άλῶναί τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγούστῷ δοθῆναι καὶ ἐαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλγήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο,

21 το δε δή των πολλών κίβδηλον και έκ τούτου διηλέγχθη ότι εκείνων τε, ον τέως εκολάκευον, ούτω τότε διέθηκαν ώστε και αὐτοχειρία ἀποθανείν ἀναγκάσαι, και πρὸς τὸν Λόργον ἀπέκλιναν, ἐπειδήπερ αὕξειν ήρχετο, μέλλοντές που και κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἄν γέ τι τοιοῦτόν οἰ

2 συμβή, ψηφιείσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Προκουλέιος *
ούτω πρὸς αὐτόν ἔσχεν ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ αὐτό τήν τε ρίνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἐαυτοῦ τή χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν, ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν ὅτι μηδ' ἀναπνευσαί τινι παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια

τ φ cod. Peir., om. VM.

⁶ dreypade Xiph., detypade VM cod. Peir. 5 anterpaar Pflagh, defreyear VM cod. Peir.

¹ Hearnolteror Ba, wearounies VM Xiph, Tearnolters Lemmel.

BOOK LIII

of the public. On the other hand, Cornelius Gallus ac. 20 was encouraged to insolence by the honour shown him. Thus, he indulged in a great deal of disrespectful gossip about Augustus and was guilty of many reprehensible actions besides; for he not only set up images of himself practically everywhere in Egypt, but also inscribed upon the pyramids a list of his achievements. For this act he was accused by Valerius Largus, his comrade and intimate, and was disfranchised by Augustus, so that he was prevented from living in the emperor's provinces. After this had happened, many others attacked him and brought numerous indictments against him. The senate unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, exiled, and deprived of his estate, that this estate should be given to Augustus, and that the senate itself should offer sacrifices. Overwhelmed by grief at this, Gallus committed suicide before the decrees took effect; and the insincerity of the majority of people was again proved by his case, in that they now treated the man whom formerly they had been wont to flatter in such a way that they forced him to die by his own hand, and then went over to Largus because he was beginning to grow powerful-though they were certain to vote the same measures against him also, if a similar situation should arise in his case. Proculeius, however, conceived such contempt for Largus that once, on meeting him, he clapped his hand over his nose and mouth, thereby hinting to the bystanders that it was not safe even to breathe in the

3 είη. άλλος τέ τις προσήλθέ τε αὐτῷ, καίπερ ἀγνὼς ὧν, μετὰ μαρτύρων, καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ γνωρίζοι ἐαυτόν, ἐπειδή τε ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἄρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν, ὧσπερ οὐκ ἐξὸν τῷ κακῷ καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἤδει πρότερον συκοφαντήσαι.

διὰ τοῦτο τά τε ἀναλώματα τὰ τῆ ἀρχῆ αὐτοῦ προσήκοντα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὰν καὶ στρατηγὸς παρανόμως ἀποδειχθείς, ἐπήρθη τε ὑπ αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὸν Λύγουστον ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ὥστε καὶ προγράψαι ὅτι ἄθραυστον καὶ ὁλόκληρον

Β τῶ διαδόχιρ τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτιρο οἶ τε ἄλλοι πάντες οἰ πρῶτοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Λῦγουστος ὀργὴν ἔσχε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκδιδάξειν σὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔμελλε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς φρονεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις παραχρῆμα ἐπιμελεῖσθαί τε ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπίμπρηται, κὰν ἄρα τι τοιοῦτο συμβἢ, κατασβεννύναι τὸ πῦρ προσέταξε.

25 Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῷ ὅ τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῷ Πόντῷ βασιλεύων ἔς τε τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ δήμου ἀνεγράφη, καὶ προεδρία τοῦς βουλευταῖς ἐν πάση τῆ ἀρχῆ αὐτοῦ ἐς πάντα 2 τὰ θέατρα ἐδόθη· τόν τε Αῦγουστον ἐς τὴν

Eyedras H. Steph., alyrdras VM cod. Peir.

man's presence. Another man, although unknown to a.c. 26 him, approached him with witnesses and asked Largus if he knew him; then, when the other replied that he did not, he recorded his denial on a tablet, as though the rascal could not blackmail even a man whom he had not previously known. But we see how most men rather emulate the deeds of others, even though they be evil deeds, than guard against their fate, by what Mareus Egnatius Rufus did at this very time. He had been an aedile, and in addition to having performed his duties well in many other ways, had with his own slaves and other persons whom he hired helped to save the houses that took fire during his year of office, and in return for all this he had received from the people the amount of the expenditures incurred in the discharge of his office and had been elected practor contrary to law. But he became so elated over these very honours and so contemptaous of Augustus, that he issued a bulletin to the effect that he had handed the city over unimpaired and intact to his successor. All the most prominent men became indignant at this, Augustus himself most of all; and he was not long afterward to teach the fellow a lesson, not to exalt his mind above the mass of mankind. For the time being, however, he ordered the aediles to take care that no building took fire, and if anything of the sort did happen, to put the fire out.

In this same year Polemon, the king of Pontus, was enrolled among the friends and allies of the Roman people; and the privilege was granted the senators of occupying the front seats in all the theatres of his realm. Augustus was planning an

257

Βρεττανίαν, ἐπειδή μὴ ἡθέλησαν ὁμολογήσαι, στρατευσείοντα κατέσχον οί τε Σάλασσοι έπαναστάντες αύτῷ καὶ οι Κάνταβροι οι τε "Αστυρες πολεμωθέντες. οίκουσι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς Αλπεις, ωσπερ εξρηταί μοι, ούτοι δε εκάτεροι του τε Πυρηναίου τοῦ 1 πρὸς τῆ Ἰβηρία τὸ καρτερώ-

- 3 τατον καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐσαν. δι' ούν ταύτα ο Λύγουστος (ήδη δὲ ένατον μετά Μάρκου Σιλανού ύπάτευεν) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλάσσους Τερέντιον Οδάρρωνα έπεμψε, και δς πολλαχή άμα, όπως μή συστραφέντες δυσχειρωτότεροι γένωνται, έμβαλων ράστά τε αὐτούς, άτε καὶ κατ' ολίγους προσπίπτοντάς σφισιν, ἐνίκησε,
- 4 καί συμβήναι καταναγκάσας άργυριον τέ τι ρητόν, ώς και μηδέν δεινον άλλο δράσων, ήτησε. κάκ τούτου 2 παυταχή πρός την έσπραξιν δήθεν αύτου στρατιώτας διαπέμψας συνέλαβέ τε τούς έν τη ήλικία καὶ ἀπέδοτο, ἐψ ώ μηδείς σφων
- ο έντος είκοσιν έτων έλευθερωθείη. και αύτων ή άρίστη της γης των τε δορυφόρων τισίν έδύθη. καί πόλιν την Αύγουσταν πραιτωριανών ώνομασμένην έσχεν, αύτὸς δὲ ὁ Αύγουστος πρός τε τοὺς Αστυρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Καντάβρους άμα ἐπολέμησε, και έπειδη μήτε προσεχώρουν οι άτε 3 έπι

ε τοις έρυμνοις έπαιρόμενοι, μήτε ές χείρας διά τε το τω πλήθει έλαττούσθαι και διά το άκοντιστάς το πλείστου είναι ήσαν, και προσέτι και πρώ-

¹ τοῦ Reim., τοῦ τε VM.

Trabres R. Steph., τούτου τοῦ Μ, τούτου το V.

a of are Dind., are Bk., old το VM. * Joan Dind., Joan VM. 258

BOOK LIH

expedition into Britain, since the people there a.c. 20 would not come to terms, but he was detained by the revolt of the Salassi and by the hostility of the Cantabri and Astures. The former dwell at the foot of the Alps, as I have stated, whereas both the other tribes occupy the strongest part of the Pyrences on the side of Spain, together with the plain which lies below. For these reasons Augus- no 25 tus, who was now consul for the ninth time, with Marcus Silanus as colleague, sent Terentius Varro against the Salassi. Varro invaded their country at many points at the same time, in order that they might not join forces and so be more difficult to subdue; and he conquered them very easily, inasmuch as they attacked his divisions only in small groups. After forcing them to come to terms he demanded a stated sum of money, as if he were going to impose no other punishment; then, sending soldiers everywhere ostensibly to collect the money, he arrested those who were of military age and sold them, on the understanding that none of them should be liberated within twenty years. The best of their land was given to some of the Pretorians, and later on received the city called Augusta Praetoria.2 Augustus himself waged war upon the Astures and upon the Cantabri at one and the same time. But these peoples would neither yield to him, because they were confident on account of their strongholds, nor would they come to close quarters, owing to their inferior numbers and the circumstance that most of them were javelinthrowers, and, besides, they kept causing him a

259

Probably in a lost portion of the work, perhaps Book axii. Cf. Frag. 74 and Book alix, 34. The modern Aosta.

γματα αὐτῷ πολλά, εἴ που κινηθείη, τά τε ὑπερδέξια ἀεὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις
τοῖς τε ὑλώδεσιν ἐνεδρεύοντες παρεῖχον, ἐν ἀπόρῳ
7 παντάπασιν ἐγένετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκ τε τοῦ
καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν φροντίδων νοσήσας ἐς Ταρράκωνα ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἐκεῖ ἡρρώστει· Γάιος δὲ
Αντίστιος προσεπολέμησε τε αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ
συχνὰ κατειργάσατο, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ
8 Αὐγούστου στρατηγὸς ἡν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ βάρβαροι ὁμόσε τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἐχώρησαν καὶ ἐνικήθησαν. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τέ
τινα ἔλαβε, καὶ Τίτος μετὰ ταῦτα Καρίσιος τήν
τε Λαγκίαν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ᾿Αστύρων πόλισμα
ἐκλειφθὲν εἶλε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρεστήσατο.

26 Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αῦγουστος τοὺς μὲν ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῦς ἐν Λυσιτανία τὴν Αὕγουσταν Ἡμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι έδωκε, τοῦς δὲ τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν ἔτ' ἔχουσι θέας τινὰς διά τε τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἱιβερίου ὡς καὶ ἀγορανομούντων ἐν αὐτοῦς τοῦς στρατοπέδοις ²

2 ἐποίησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰούβα τῆς τε Γαιτουλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρώας ἀρχῆς, ἐπείπερ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο,

3 καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογούου ἔδωκε τοῦ δ' Αμύντου τελευτήσαντος οὐ τοῦς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ὑπήκοον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖον ἄρχοντα ἔσχε, τά τε χωρία τὰ ἔκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ ᾿Αμύντα προσνεμη-

¹ Ινικήθησαν Μ, ξεινήθησαν V.

² rois orparovidous R. Stoph., orparois VM.

BOOK LIII

great deal of annovance, always forestalling him by ac. 25 seizing the higher ground whenever a manusuvre was attempted, and lying in ambush for him in the valleys and woods. Accordingly Augustus found himself in very great embarrassment, and baving fallen ill from over-exertion and anxiety, he retired to Tarraco and there remained in poor health. Meanwhile Gains Antistius fought against them and accomplished a good deal, not because he was a better general than Augustus, but because the barbarians felt contempt for him and so joined battle with the Romans and were defeated. In this way he captured a few places, and afterwards Titus 1 Carisius took Lancia, the principal fortress of the Astures, after it had been abandoned, and also won over many other places.

Upon the conclusion of this war Augustus discharged the more aged of his soldiers and allowed them to found a city in Lusitania, called Augusta Emerita.2 For those who were still of military age he arranged some exhibitions in the very camps, under the direction of Tiberius and Marcellus, since they were aediles. To Juba he gave portions of Gaetulia in return for the prince's hereditary domain. the most of whose inhabitants had been enrolled in the Roman state, and also the possessions of Bocchus and Bogud. On the death of Amyntas he did not entrust his kingdom to the sons of the deceased, but made it part of the subject territory. Thus Galatia together with Lycaonia obtained a Roman governor, and the portions of Pamphylia formerly assigned to Amyntas were restored to their own

2 The modern Merida.

Possibly this pracuomen is an error for Publius.

4 θέντα τῷ ἰδίφ νομῷ ἀπεδόθη. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Μάρκος Οὐινίκιος Κελτῶν τινας μετελθών, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν χώραν αφῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν ἐσελθόντας συλλαβόντες ἔφθειραν, τὸ ὅνομα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ τοῦ ὁ αὐτοκράτορος τῷ Αὐγουστῷ ἔδωκε. καὶ ἐψηφίσθη μέν που καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε γενομένοις ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἡθέλησεν αὐτὰ πέμψαι, ἀψίς τε ἐν ταῖς ᾿ Λλπεσι τροπαιοφόρος οἰ ἀκοδομήθη, καὶ ἔξουσία ἰδόθη τοῦ τῆ πρωτη τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρα καὶ τῷ ³ στεφάνος καὶ τῷ ἐσθῆτι τῷ νικητηρία ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι.

Αύγουστος μέν ταθτά τε έν τοις πολέμοις έπραξε, και το του Ίανου τεμένισμα άνοιγθέν δι 27 αυτούς έκλεισεν, 'Αγρίππας δέ έν τούτω το άστυ τοις ίδιοις τέλεσιν έπεκοσμησε. τούτο μέν γαρ την στοάν την του Ποσειδώνος ώνομασμένην και έξωκοδόμησεν έπὶ ταῖς ναυκρατίαις καὶ τῆ τῶν 'Αργοναυτών γραφή έπελάμπρυνε, τούτο δέ το πυριατήριον το Λακωνικόν κατεσκεύασε Λακωνικόν γαρ το γυμνάστον, έπειδήπερ οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι γυμνούσθαί τε εν τφ τότε χρόνφ και λίπα άσκειν μάλιστα 2 εδόκουν, επεκάλεσε. τό τε Πάνθειον ωνομασμένου έξετέλεσε προσαγορεύεται δε ούτω τάχα μέν ότι παλλών θεών είκονας έν τοις άγαλμασι, τώ τε του "Αρεως και τω της 'Αφροδίτης, έλαβεν, ως δε έγω νομίζω, ότι θολοειδές ών τος ουρανώς προσέοικεν. 3 ήβουλήθη μέν ούν ο Αγρίππας και τον Αίγου-

rait Bk., rait VM. roomatopdoor M. roomatopdoor V. Rk., raf re VM. Leanurer M. om. V.

BOOK LIII

district. About this same time Marcus Vinicius ac. 25 took vengeance upon some of the Germans because they had arrested and slain Romans who entered their country to trade with them; and thus he, too, caused the title of imperator to be bestowed upon Augustus. For this and his other exploits of this period a triumph, as well as the title, was veted to Augustus; but as he did not care to celebrate it, a triumphal arch was erected in the Alps in his honour and he was granted the right always to wear both the crown and the triumphal garb on the first day

of the year.

After these achievements in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars. Meanwhile Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense. First, in honour of the naval victories he completed the building called the Basilica of Neptone and lent it added brilliance by the painting representing the Argonauts. Next he constructed the Laconian sudatorium. He gave the name "Laconian" to the gymnasium because the Lacedaemonians had a greater reputation at that time than anybody else for stripping and exercising after anounting themselves with oil. Also he completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens.1 Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to

¹ The present Pantheon, as is now recognized, dates from the reign of Hadrian. The vast rotunds is aurmounted by a done, in the centre of which there is a circular opening nearly thirty feet in diameter for the admission of light.

στον ένταθθα ίδρθσαι, τήν τε τοῦ έργου ἐπίκλησιν αυτώ δούναι μη δεξαμένου δε αυτού μηδέτερου. έκει μέν του προτέρου Καίσαρος, εν δέ τῷ προνάφ τοῦ τε Αύγούστου καὶ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας 4 έστησε, καὶ έγίγνετο γώρ ταῦτα οὐκ έξ ἀντιπάλου το Αγρίππα πρός του Αύγουστου φιλοτιμίας, άλλ' έκ τε της πρός έκείνου λιπαρούς εύνοίας και έκ της πρός το δημόσιον ένδελεχούς σπουδής, ου μόνον ουδέν αυτόν έπ' αυτοίς ο Αύγουστος ήτιάσατο, άλλα και έπι πλείον έτί-5 μησε. τούς τε γάρ γάμους της τε θυγατρός της Ιουλίας και του άδελφιδού του Μαρκέλλου μη δυνηθείς ύπο της νόσου έν τη 'Ρώμη τότε' ποιήσαι δι έκείνου και άπων έωρτασε και έπειδη ή οίκια ή έν τῷ Παλατίω όρει, ή πρώτερον μέν τοῦ Αντωνίου γενομένη ύστερον δε τώ τε Αγρίππα και το Μεσσάλα δοθείσα, κατεφλέχθη, το μεν Μεσσάλα άργύριον έχαρίσατο, του δε Αγρίππαν ε σύνοικον εποιήσατο, ούτος τε ούν έκ τούτων ούκ ἀπεικότως έγαυρούτο, καί τις Γάιος Θοράνιος αίτιαν άγαθήν έσχεν, ότι δημαρχών του πατέρα, καίπερ εξελεύθερον τινος όντα, ές τε το θέατρον έστημαγε καλ έν τῷ δημαρχικῷ βάθρω παρεκαθίσατο. Πούπλιός τε Σερουίλιος όνομα και αύτος έλαβεν, ότι στρατηγών άρκτους τε τριακοσίας και Λιβυκά έτερα θηρία ίσα έν πανηγύρει τιν anekreiver.

28 Έκ δε τούτου δέκατου ὁ Αύγουστος μετά Γαίου Νωρβανοῦ ἡρξε, καὶ ἔν τε τῆ νουμηνία ὅρκους ἡ βουλὴ βεβαιοῦσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ

¹ Kaisases M. arispares V.
2 réra M. rairo V

bestow upon him the honour of having the structure ac = named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself. This was done. not out of any rivalry or ambition on Agrippa's part to make himself equal to Augustus, but from his hearty loyalty to him and his constant zeal for the public good; hence Augustus, so far from censuring him for it, honoured him the more. For example, when he himself was prevented by illness from being in Rome at that time and celebrating there the marriage of his daughter Julia and his nephew Marcellus, he commissioned Agrippa to hold the festival in his absence; and when the house on the Palatine Mount which had formerly belonged to Antony but had later been given to Agrippa and Messalla was burned down, he presented money to Messalla, but made Agrippa share his own house. Agrippa not unnaturally took great pride in these honours. And one Gaius Toranius also acquired a good reputation because while tribune he brought his father, although a freedman of somebody or other, into the theatre and made him sit beside him upon the tribunes' bench. Publius Servilius, too, made a name for himself because while practor he caused to be slain at a festival three hundred bears and other African wild beasts equal in number.

Augustus now became consul for the tenth time, ac. 31 with Gains Norbanus as colleague, and on the first day of the year the senate confirmed his acts by

έποιήσατο, καὶ ἐπειδή πλησιάζειν τε ήδη τῆ πόλει ήγγελθη (ύπο γαρ της άρρωστίας έγρόνισε) καί τῷ δήμω καθ' ἐκατὸν δραγμάς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, 2 το τε γράμμα το περί αυτών απηγόρευσε μή πρότερου έκτεθήναι πρίν αν και έκείνη συνδόξη, πάσης αυτον της των νόμων άνωγκης άπηλλαξαν, ιν', ώσπερ είρηταί μοι, καὶ αὐτοτελής όντως καὶ αύτοκράτωρ καὶ έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων πάντα τε όσα βούλοιτο ποιοίη καὶ πάνθ' όσα άβουλοίη! 3 μή πράττη, ταθτα μέν ἀποδημοθντι έτ' αθτώ έψηφίσθη, άφικομένω δὲ ἐς τὴν Υώμην άλλα τινά έπί τε τη σωτηρία και έπι τη άνακομιδή αύτοῦ ἐγένετο. τῶ τε Μαρκέλλω βουλεύειν τε ἐν τοις έστρατηγηκόσι και την υπατείαν δέκα θάττον έτεσαν ήπερ ένενόμιστο αίτησαι, και τω Τιβερίω πέντε πρό έκλοτης άρχης έτεσι το αυτό τουτο 4 ποιήσαι έδόθη και παραγρήμα γε ούτος μέν ταμίας έκείνος δε άγορανόμος άπεδείγθησαν. τών τε ταμιευσόντων έν τοις έθνεσιν επιλειπόντων έκληρώθησαν ές αυτά πάντες οί μέγρι δέκα άνω έτων άνευ του έργου τούτου τεταμιευκότες.

29 *Εν μὲν οὐν τῆ πόλει ταῦτα τότε ἄξια μνήμης ἐγένετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ Κάνταβροι οἱ τε *Λστυρες, ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Λῦγουστος ἐκ τῆς Ἡβηρίας, Λούκιον Αἰμίλιον ἄρχουτα αὐτῆς καταλιπών, ἀπηλλάγη, ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Λὶμίλιον, πρὶν καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἐκφῆναί οἱ, σῖτόν τε καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χαρίσασθαι τῷ στρατεύματι βοῦλεσθαι

^{1 &}amp;Soukein Dind., & Soukein VM.

taking oaths. And when word was brought that he a.c. 21 was already drawing near the city (for his illness had delayed his return), and he promised to give the people four hundred sesterces each, though he forhade the posting of the edict concerning the donatives until the senate should give its approval, they freed him from all compulsion of the laws, in order, as I have stated,1 that he might be in reality independent and supreme over both himself and the laws and so might do everything he wished and refrain from doing anything he did not wish. This right was voted to him while he was yet absent : and upon his arrival in Rome various other privileges were accorded him in honour of his recovery and return. Marcellus was given the right to be a senator among the ex-practors and to stand for the consulship ten years earlier than was customary, while Tiberius was permitted to stand for each office five years before the regular age; and he was at once elected quaestor and Marcellus aedile. And when there were not enough men to serve as quaestors in the provinces, all drew lots for the places who during the ten years previous had held the quaestorship without being assigned to any province.

These, then, were the noteworthy occurrences that took place in the city at that time. As soon as Augustus had departed from Spain, leaving behind Lucius Aemilius as its governor, the Cantabri and the Astures revolted; and sending word to Aemilius, before revealing to him the least sign whatever of their purpose, they said that they wished to make a present to his army of grain and other things. Then,

¹ See chap, 18,

2 ἔφασαν, κὰκ τούτου στρατιώτας συχνούς ὡς καὶ κομιοῦντας αὐτὰ λαβόντες ἔς τε χωρία αὐτοὺς ἐπιτήδειὰ σφισιν ἐσήγαγον καὶ κατεφόνευσαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἥσθησαν τῆς τε γὰρ χώρας αὐτῶν δηωθείσης καὶ τειχῶν τινων καυθέντων, τό τε μέγιστον τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀλισκομένοις ἀποκοπτομένων, ταχέως ἐχειρώ-θησαν.

3 Έν ῷ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἄλλη τις στρατεία καινὴ ἀρχήν τε ἄμα καὶ τέλος ἔσχεν ἐπὶ γὰρ ᾿Αραβίαν τὴν εὐδαίμονα καλουμένην, ἡς Σαβῶς ἐβασίλευεν,¹ Αἴλιος Γάλλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου

- 4 ἄρχων ἐπεστράτευσε. καὶ ἐς μὲν ὄψιν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τήν γε πρώτην ἢλθεν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀπόνως προεχώρει ἢ τε γὰρ ἐρημία ² καὶ ὁ ῆλιος τά τε ὕδατα φύσιν τινὰ ἄτοπον ἔχοντα πάνυ αὐτοὺς ἐταλαιπώρησεν, ὥστε τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ
- 5 φθαρήναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδενὶ τῶν συνήθων δμοιου ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλὶ ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνσκῆψαν ἐξήραινεν αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς αὐτίκα ἀπώλλυε, τῶν δὲ δὴ περιγιγνομένων ἔς τε τὰ σκέλη κατήει, πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ σώματος ὑπερβάν, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἔ ἐλυμαίνετο, ἴαμά τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἤν χωρὶς ἡ εἴ τις ἔλαιον οἴνῷ μεμιγμένον καὶ ἔπιε

6 καὶ ἡλείψατο. ὅπερ που πάνυ ὁλίγοις σφῶν ὑπῆρξε ποιῆσαι· οὐτε γὰρ ἡ χώρα οὐδέτερου αὐτῶν φέρει οὐτε ἐκεῖνοι ἄφθονα αὐτὰ προπαρεσκευάδατο. κάν τῷ πόνο τούτω καὶ οἱ βάρβαροί

^{1 &}amp; Barilsever M Xiph. (cod. V) Zou., & Barilsever V Xiph. (cod. C). 1 Appela R. Steph., Aprela VM.

[&]quot; desire Rk., desire ve VM.

⁴ протиричений бато Вк., поитори сеговогто VM, (Inclion) протиричений авто Zon.

after securing a considerable number of soldiers, a.c. as ostensibly to take back the presents, they conducted them to places suitable for their purpose and murdered them. Their satisfaction, however, was shortlived; for their country was devastated, some of their forts burned, and, worst of all, the hands of all who were caught were cut off, and so they were quickly subdued.

While this was going on, another and a new campaign had at once its beginning and its end. It was conducted by Aelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, against the country called Arabia Felix, of which Sabos was king. At first Aclius encountered no one, yet he did not proceed without difficulty; for the desert, the sun, and the water (which had some peculiar nature) all caused his men great distress, so that the larger part of the army perished. The malady proved to be unlike any of the common complaints, but attacked the head and caused it to become parched, killing forthwith most of those who were attacked, but in the case of those who survived this stage it descended to the legs, skipping all the intervening parts of the body, and caused dire injury to them. There was no remedy for it except a mixture of olive oil and wine, both taken as a drink and used as an ointment; and this remedy naturally lay within reach of only a few of them, since the country produces neither of these articles and the men had not prepared an abundant supply of them beforehand. In the midst of this trouble the barbarians also fell

7 σφισι προσεπέθεντο. τέως μὲν γὰρ ῆττους, ὁπότε γε καὶ προσμίζειαν αὐτοῖς, ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ τινα καὶ χωρία ἀπέβαλλον τότε δὲ συμμάχω τῷ νόσω αὐτῶν χρησάμενοι τά τε σφέτερα ἐκομίσαντο καὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἔξῆλασαν ἐκ τῆς 8 χώρας. πρῶτοι μὲν δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὐτοι, νομίζω δ΄ ὅτι καὶ μόνοι, τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ πολέμω τῆς ᾿Αραβίας ταύτης ἐπῆλθον μέχρι γὰρ τῶν ᾿Αθλούλων

καλουμένων, χωρίου τινός επιφανούς, εχώρησαν.
30 Ο δ΄ Αύγουστος ένδεκατον μετά Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος άρξας ήρρώστησεν αθθις, ώστε μηδεμίαν έλπίδα σωτηρίας σχείν πάντα γοῦν ὡς καὶ τελευτήσων διέθετο, καὶ τάς τε μρχάς τούς τε άλλους τοὺς πρώτους καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἀθροίσας διάδοχον μὲν οὐδένα ἀπέδειξε.

2 καίτοι τον Μάρκελλον πάντων προκριθήσεσθαι ές τοῦτο προσδοκώντων, διαλεχθείς δέ τινα αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τῷ μὲν Πίσωνι τὰς τε δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προσόδους τὰς κοινὰς ἐς βιβλίου ἐσγράψας ἔδωκε, τῷ δ' Αγρίππα τὸν

3 δακτύλιον ένεχείρισε. καὶ αὐτόν μηδέν έτι μηδέ τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων ποιεῖν δυνάμενον Αντώνιος τις Μούσας καὶ ψυχρολουσίαις καὶ ψυχροποσίαις ἀνέσωσε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρά τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ παρά τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτυλίοις (ἀπελεύθερος γὰρ ῆν) χρῆσθαι τήν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνοις, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς τότε οὖσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα ἐσομένοις, ἔλαβεν. 4 ἀλλ ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τά τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς

¹ γε και M Xiph., γε V. 2 τάς τε Xiph., τάς γε VM. 2 τη τ' N" in Reimar's ed., δτι VM.

upon them. For hitherto they had been defeated whenever they joined battle, and had even been losing some places; but now, with the disease as their ally, they not only won back their own possessions, but also drove the survivors of the expedition out of the country. These were the first of the Romans, and, I believe, the only ones, to traverse so much of this part of Arabia for the purpose of making war; for they advanced as far as the place

called Athlula, a famous locality.1

When Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, ac 28 with Calpurnius Piso, he fell so ill once more as to have no hope of recovery; at any rate, he arranged everything as if he were about to die, and gathered about him the magistrates and the foremost senators and knights. He did not, to be sure, appoint a successor, though all were expecting that Marcellus would be preferred for this position, but after talking with them awhile about the public affairs, he gave Piso the list of the forces and of the public revenues written in a book, and handed his ring to Agrippa. And although he lost the power of attending even to the most urgent matters, yet a certain Antonius Musa restored him to health by means of cold baths and cold potions. For this, Musa received a great deal of money from both Augustus and the senate, as well as the right to wear gold rings (for he was a freedman), and he was granted exemption from taxes, both for himself and for the members of his profession, not only those living at the time but also those of future generations. But it was fated that he who had taken to himself the functions of Fortune or

¹ The place has not been identified; Strabs (xvi. 4, 24) calls it Athrula.

πεπρωμένης έργα προσποιούμενον παρά πόδας άλωναι, ο μεν Αυγουστος ούτως εσώθη, ο δε δη Μάρκελλος νοσήσας ου πολλώ υστερον και τον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μούσα τρόπον 5 θεραπευόμενος απέθανε, και αύτον ο Αύγουστος δημοσία τε έθαψεν, έπαινέσας ώσπερ είθιστο, καί ές το μνημείον ο ωκοδομείτο κατέθετο, τη τε μνήμη του θεάτρου του προκαταβληθέντος μέν ο ύπο του Καίσαρος, Μαρκέλλου δε ώνομασμένου έτίαησεν, και οί και είκουα χρυσήν και στέφανου χρυσούν δίφρον τε άρχικον ές τε το θέατρον έν τή των Ρωμαίων πανηγύρει εσφέρεσθαι και ές το μέσον των άρχοντων των τελούντων αυτά τίθεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. Ταύτα μεν υστερον επραξε, τότε δε σωθείς 31 τὰς διαθήκας ἐσήνεγκε μέν ές τὸ συνέδριον καὶ άναλέξασθαι ήθέλησεν, ενδεικνύμενος τοίς άνθρώποις ότι οὐδένα της άρχης διάδοχον καταλελοιπώς ήν, ου μέντοι και ανέγνω ούδεις γαρ 2 επέτρεψεν. εθαύμαζον μέντοι και πάνυ πάντες αὐτοῦ ὅτι του Μάρκελλου καὶ ὡς γαμβρου καὶ ώς άδελφιδούν άγαπών, και άλλας τε αύτώ τιμάς διδούς και την έορτην ην έκ της αγορανομίας 3 έπετέλει συνδιαθείς λαμπρώς, ώστε τήν τε άγοράν έν παυτί τω θέρει παραπετάσμασι κατά κορυφήν διαλαβείν και ορχηστήν τινα ίππεα

γυναϊκά τε επιφανή ές την ορχήστραν εσαγαγείν.

όμως την μοναρχίαν οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλά καὶ 4 τὸν 'Αγρίππαν αὐτοῦ προετίμησεν. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδέπω τῆ τοῦ μειρακίου γνώμη ἐθάρσει,

¹ deferrépasses M Zon., deferençaises V. 1 figes Bk. following Xiph., tipes de VM.

BOOK LIII

Destiny should speedily be caught in her toils; for ac 23 though Augustus bad been saved in this manner, yet when Marcellus fell ill not long afterward and was treated in the same way by Musa, he died. Augustus gave him a public burial after the customary culogies, placing him in the tomb which he was building, and as a memorial to him finished the theatre whose foundations had already been laid by the former Caesar I and which was now called the theatre of Marcellus. And he ordered also that a golden image of the deceased, a golden crown, and a curule chair should be carried into the theatre at the Ludi Romani and should be placed in the midst of the

officials having charge of the games.

This he did later; at the time, after being restored to health, he brought his will into the senate and desired to read it, by way of showing people that he had left no successor to his realm; but he did not read it, for none would permit it. Absolutely everybody, however, was astonished at him because, although he loved Marcellus both as son-in-law and nephew, and in addition to other honours shown him had to such an extent helped him make a brilliant success of the festival which he gave as aedile that he had sheltered the Forum during the whole summer by means of curtains stretched overhead and had exhibited on the stage a dancer who was a knight, and also a woman of high birth, nevertheless he had not entrusted to him the monarchy, but actually had preferred Agrippa before him. Thus it would appear that he was not yet confident of the youth's judg-

273

Suctorius (Aug. 29, 4) names this theatre among various other buildings which Augustus "unmine alieno . . . feed."

άλλ' ήτοι τον δήμον την έλευθερίαν κομίσασθαι ή και τον 'Αγρίππαν την ήγεμονίαν παρ' έκείνου

λαβεῖν ἢθέλησεν εὖ τε γὰρ ἢπίστατο προσφιλῆ σφισιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὄντα, καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρ' ἐαυτοῦ δὴ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπε32 σθαι. ῥαἴσας δ' οὖν, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως τῷ 'Αγρίππα διὰ τοῦτ' ἔχοντα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν 'Αγρίππαν, μὴ καὶ διατριβή τις καὶ ἀψιμαχία αὐτοῖς ἐν ταὐτῷ οὖσι συμβἢ, ἐστείλε. καὶ δς ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἐξώρμησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον μετριάζων ἐκεῖσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριψε.

Ταῦτά τε οῦτως ὁ Λύγουστος ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγοὺς δέκα, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι πλειόνων δεόμενος, ἀπέδειξε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο. ἔμελλον δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἄπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δύο δὲ ἐπὶ τῆ διοικήσει ὅσα

πρόσθεν ποιήσειν, δυο δε επί τη διοικήσει οσα 3 έτη γενήσεσθαι. διατάξας δε ταυτα ώς εκαστα, ἀπεῖπε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς τὸ ' Αλβανὸν ελθών ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτός, ἐξ οὕπερ τὰ πράγματα κατέστη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείους δι ἔτους ἡρξαν, ἐπισχεῖν τε τοῦτο αὐθις, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστοι ὑπατεύωσιν, ἡθέλησε, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ ἄστεως αὐτὸ

1 75 supplied by Bs.

D. Magie ("The Mission of Agrippa to the Orient in 23 a.c.," in Classical Philology, iii., 1908, 145 ff.) points out the difficulties in the popular version of Agrippa's journey to Lesbos, and suggests that he was in reality sent out by

BOOK LIH

ment, and that he either wished the people to regain as 21 their liberty or for Agrippa to receive the leadership from them. For he well understood that Agrippa was exceedingly beloved by them and he preferred not to seem to be committing the supreme power to him on his own responsibility. When he recovered, therefore, and learned that Marcellus because of this was not friendly toward Agrippa, he immediately sent the latter to Syria, so that no occasion for scoffing or for skirmishing might arise between them by their being together. And Agrippa straightway set out from the city, but did not reach Syria; instead, acting with even more than his usual moderation, he sent his lieutenants thither, and tarried himself in Lesbos.

Besides doing all these things in the manner related, Augustus appointed ten practors, feeling that he no longer required a larger number; and this happened for several years. Most of them were to perform the same duties as formerly, but two were to be in charge of the financial administration each year. Having arranged these matters in detail, he went to the Alban Mount and resigned the consulship. For ever since conditions had become settled, both he himself and most of his colleagues had held the office for the whole year, and he now wished to end this practice, in order that as many as possible might become consuls; and he resigned outside the

Augustus on a diplomatic mission calling for secrecy—nothing less, in fact, than for the purpose of inducing Phraates to return the captured Roman standards and receive in return his son. Cf. chap. 33, 2 inf.

^{*} Cf. liv. 11, 6.

^a Under Julius Cassar the number had been as high as sixteen; see xhii, 49, 1, and 51, 4.

4 εποίησεν, ίνα μή κωλυθή. και έπι τε τούτφ έπαινον έσχε, και ότι Λούκιον ανθ έαυτου Σήστιον ανθείλετο, δεί τε τώ Βρούτω συσπουδά. σαντα και έν πάσι τοις πολέμοις συστρατεύσαντα, καὶ έτι καὶ τότε καὶ μνημονεύοντα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας έχουτα καὶ ἐπαίνους ποιούμενου τό τε γὰρ φιλικὸν καὶ τὸ πιστὸν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐμίσησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτίμησε. 5 και διὰ ταῦθ' ή γερουσία δήμαρχου τε αὐτον διά βίου είναι έψηφίσατο, και χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ένὸς τινος ὁπου άν ἐθελήση καθ' ἐκάστην βουλήν, κάν μη ὑπατεύη, ἔδωκε, τήν τε άργην την ηνθύπατον έσαει καθάπαξ έγειν ώστε μήτε εν τή έσόδω τή είσω του πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν μήτ αὐθις άνανεοῦσθαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόψ τὸ πλείου τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἀρχόνο των ισχύειν επέτρεψεν. άφ ου δη και έκεινος και οί μετ' αυτόν αυτοκράτορες έν νόμω δή τινι τοίς τε άλλοις και τη έξουσία τη δημαρχική έχρησαντο το γάρ τοι δυομα αυτό το των δημάρχων ούθ' ὁ Αύγουστος ούτ' άλλος ούδεὶς αὐτοκράτωρ EGYE.

33 Καί μοι δοκεί ταῦθ' οὐτω τότε οὐκ ἐκ κολακείας ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τιμηθείς λαβεῖν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ὡς ἐλευθέροις σφίσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ¹ αὐτός, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Φραάτου πρέσβεις, ἐφ' οἰς ἀντενεκάλουν ἀλλήλοις ἀφίκοντο, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοὺς ἐσήγαγε, 2 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιτραπείς παρ' αὐτῆς τὴν διά-

^{*} Toposarus Dind., resposarus VM (and similarly just below).

BOOK LIH

city, to prevent being hindered from his purpose, a.c. 22 For this act he received praise, as also because he chose in his stead Lucius Sestius, who had always been an enthusiastic follower of Brutus, had fought with him in all his wars, and even at this time kept alive his memory, had images of him, and delivered eulogies upon him. Augustus, it would appear, so far from disliking the man's devotion and loyalty, actually honoured these qualities in him. And because of this the senate voted that Augustus should be tribune for life and gave him the privilege of bringing before the senate at each meeting any one matter at whatever time he liked, even if he were not consul at the time; they also permitted him to hold once for all and for life the office of proconsul, so that he had neither to lay it down upon entering the pomerium nor to have it renewed again, and they gave him in the subject territory authority superior to that of the governor in each instance, As a result both he and the emperors after him gained a certain legal right to use the tribunician power as well as their other powers; for the title of tribune itself was taken neither by Augustus nor by any other emperor.1

And it seems to me that he then acquired these privileges as related, not by way of flattery, but because he was truly beneared; for in most ways he comported himself toward the Romans as if they were free citizens. Thus, when Tiridates in person and envoys from Phraates came to settle their mutual recriminations, he brought them before the senate; and afterwards, when the decision of the question had been referred to him by that body, he did not

γνωσιν του μέν Τιριδάτην τω Φραάτη ούκ έξέδωκεν, του δ' υίον αυτώ, ου πρότερου παρ έκείνου λαβών είγεν, απέπεμινεν έπι τω τούς τε αίγμαλώτους και τὰ σημεία τὰ στρατιωτικά τὰ έν τε τη του Κράσσου και έν τη του Αντωνίου

συμφορά άλόντα κομίσασθαι.

Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἔτει ἀγορανόμον τέ τινα τών καταδεεστέρων αποθανόντα Γάιος Καλπούρ. νιος, καίτοι προηγορανομηκώς έν τοις αμείνοσι, διεδέξατο, όπερ έπ' οὐδενος άλλου μνημονεύεται γενόμενον κάν ταις άνογαις δύο καθ έκάστην ήμέραν ἐπολιάργησαν, καὶ είς γέ τις αὐτῶν οὐδ ές μειράκιά πω τελών όμως ήρξεν.

Αξτίαν μέν οθν ή Λιουία τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Μαρκέλλου έσχεν, ότι των υίξων αυτής προετετίμητο ές αμφίβολου δ' ουν ή υποψία αυτη καί ύπ' έκείνου του έτους καὶ ύπο του έπειτα, ούτω νοσωδών γενομένων δστε πάνυ πολλούς έν αὐ-5 τοις άπολέσθαι, κατέστη. και φιλεί γάρ πως άει τι πρό των τοιούτων προσημαίνεσθαι, τότε μέν λύκος τε έν τῷ ἄστει συνελήφθη, και πῦρ γειμών τε πολλοίς οίκοδομήμασιν έλυμήνατο, ο τε Τίβερις αύξηθείς την τε γέφυραν την ξυλίνην κατέσυρε και την πόλιν πλωτήν έπι τρείς ήμέρας ἐποίησε.

pripániá v. Horw., pripánián VM.

ponubar yeropérur Bk., rovádous yeropéran VM.

BOOK LIII

surrender Tiridates to Phraates, but sent back to the some latter his son whom he had once received from him and was keeping. I on condition that the captives and the military standards taken in the disasters of

Crassus and of Antony should be returned.

During this same year one of the minor aediles died and Gains Calpurnius succeded him, in spite of having served previously as one of the major aediles. This is not recorded as having occurred in the case of any other man. During the Feriae there were two prefects of the city for each day; and one of them held the office in spite of the fact that he had not

vet the standing even of a youth.

Livia, now, was accused of having caused the death of Marcellas, because he had been preferred before her sons; but the justice of this suspicion became a matter of controversy by reason of the character both of that year and of the year following, which proved so unhealthful that great numbers perished during them. And, just as it usually happens that some sign occurs before such events, so on this occasion a wolf was caught in the city, fire and storm damaged many buildings, and the Tiber, rising, carried away the wooden bridge and made the city navigable for boats during three days.

F Cf. 1i. 18, 3.

By "minor" and "major" addies Dio means the plebelan and curule aediles respectively.

Τάδε ένεστικ έν τβ πευτημοντή τετάρτη των Δίωναι 'Ρωμαϊτών

- α. 'Οι έπιμεληταί των δδών έκ των έστρατηγηκότων ι κατίστησαν.
- Ωι επιρεληταί του συτηρεπίου έκ των Ιστρατηγηκότων ι κατίστησαν.
- y. 'At Népinor' ldam.
- I. 'Or Parria idam,
- 'Cι αί 'Αλπειτ αὶ παραθαλάσσιοι 'Ρωμαίων άκούειν βρξαντα.
- [- 'Ωι τὸ τοῦ Βάλθου θέατρον καθισρώθη.
- η. 'Ωι το του Μαρκίλλου θίατρον καθιερώθη.
- θ. 'Ωι 'Αγρίσσαι απίθανε και την Χερρόνησον Αδγουστοι επήσατο.
- 'Ως τὰ Λύγουστάλια κατέστη.

Χρόνου πλήθος έτη τρία και δέκα, δε οίς δρχαντες οί άριθμούμεται οίδε έγένοντο

- M. Edmidens M. vl. Magnethus Aldeprives be-
- A. Appropries A. El.
- M. ASANSON M. W. T
- K. Aipliner M. vi. Africo, Dr.
- M. 'Arouding to Diftou of Gr.
- II. ZiAcoq 11 II. of. Nepuvas 6m.
- Γ. Σέντιος Γ. ω. Σατουρνίνας Κ. 12 Λουκρήτιος Κ. ω. Οδιαπίλλων 13 δπ.
- Γν. Κορνήλιος Δ. οί. Λεντούλος
- Π. Κορνήλιος Π. οί. Λευτούλος Μαρπελλίνος Εν.
 - L. Popperos P. pl. 14
- I. Indring Is I. al. Arkards on.
- 1 вотратнучнотия М, вкагратнучнотия V.
- 2 Napuser Ba., Napuses VM. 2 rd supplied by Ba.
- 4 Kanisms H. Steph., KA' VM.
- Alexeriror Xyl., airipuna M. Siespiros V.
- M. Addance supplied by Xyl.
- 2 M. of supplied by Bs. 3 K. supplied by Xyl.

The following is contained in the Fifty fourth of Dio's Rome :-

How road commissioners were appointed from among the ex-practors (chap. 8).

How grain commissioners were appointed from among the ex-practors (chaps. I and 17).

How Noricum was captured (chap. 20).

How Rhaetia was captured (chap. 22).
How the Maritime Alps began to yield obedience to the Romans (chap. 24).

How the theatre of Balbus was dedicated (chap. 25). How the theatre of Marcellus was dedicated (chap. 26).

How Agrippa died and Augustus acquired the Chersoness (chaps. 28, 29).

How the Augustalia were instituted (chap. 34).

Duration of time, thirteen years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :--

R.C.

22 M. Claudius M. F. Marcellus Aescrainus, L. Arruntius L. F.

21 M. Lollius M. F., Q. Aemilius M. F. Lepidus.

- 20 M. Apulcius Sex. F., P. Silius P. F. Nerva.
 19 C. Sentius C. F. Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Q. F. Vispillo.
- 18 Cn. Cornelins L. F., P. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus Marcellinus.

17 C. Furnius C. F., C. Innius C. F. Silanus.

'Απουλέων Βε., ἀπούλων VM.
 Σίλων Χyl., στιλ VM.
 Οδισπίλλων Dind., οδισπιάλων Μ, οδισσπάλων V.

I of M, by V.

Alainos M. vi. supplied by Ba.

¹⁵ F. Toprios Xyl., a obirros VM.

Α. Δυμίτιοι Γν. υί. Γν. έγγ. 'Απρόβαμβου ' σπ. ' Π. Κομνήλιων Π. υί. Η. έγγ. Ισεπίων
δί. Αίσυσι ' Α. υί. Δρούσιο Αββαν
Α. Καλπούριουν Α. υί. Πάσων Φρούγι : δπ. ' Α. Καλπούριουν Α. υί. Πάσων Φρούγι : δπ. ' Υ. Καλπούριου Τν. υί. Ακρνούλου
Τ.Β. Κλαδίδιοι ' Τιβ. υί. Νέρων
Π. Κομντίλιοι ' Σίξτου υί. Οδόμοι Μπ. Μ. Οὐαλέριου ' Μ. ' υί. Μοσσάλαυ Βάρβανυς ¹¹
Π. Σουλπίκιον Π. υί. Κυρίνιαν
Παύλου Φάβκοι ¹² Κ. υί. Μάλμμου μπ.
Κ. Αίλιοι ¹³ Κ. υί. Τουβέρων
' Τούλλον ¹⁴ 'Αντώνιας ¹⁴ Μ. υί. Επ. ¹⁴
' Αφρικανός Κ. Φάβλος Κ. υί. Επ. ¹⁴
' Αφρικανός Κ. Φάβλος Κ. υί.

Τῷ δ΄ ἐπιγυγνομένω ¹¹ ἔτει, ἐν ῷ Μᾶρκος τε Μάρκελλος καὶ Λούκιος 'Αρρούντιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἢ τε πόλις πελαγίσαντος αὐθις τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπλεύσθη, καὶ κεραυνοῖς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐβλήθη καὶ οἱ ἀνδριάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ Πανθείφ, ὥστε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Αὐγούστου χειρὸς ἐκπεσεῖν. πονούμενοι οὖν ὑπό τε τῆς νόσον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ (ἔν τε γὰρ τῆ Ἰταλία πάση ὁ λοιμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς εἰργάσατο δοκὰ δ΄ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῦς ἔξω χωρίοις τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνηνέχθη) νομίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὖκ ἄλλως σφίσι ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μῆ καὶ τότε ὑπα- ἔτύοντα τὸν Αὖγουστον ἔσχον, δικτάτορα αὐτὸν ἡθέλησαν προχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τῆν τε βουλὴν

I Tr. of. R. Steph., ar of. VM.

5 5x. supplied by Bs.

^{* &#}x27;AgréBapBar K. Steph., arnéBapBos M. arréBapBos V.

Alemor Leopard, λ lowner M, λ copper V.
 Φρούγι (Φριγή) R. Steph., φούρτιας VM.
 of Rearrow supplied by Xyl.

Tell. Kanidios H. Stoph., T B x V, Tell. EA. M. Kentilan Xvl., x in VM.

16 L. Domitius Cn. F. Cn. N. Ahenobarbus, P. Cermelius P. F. P. N. Sciplo.

15 M. Livius L. F. Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius L. F. Piso

Fragi.

14 M. Licinius M. F. Crassus, Ca. Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus.

13 Tib, Claudius Tib, F. Nero, P. Quintilius Sex. F. Varus.

12 M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Barbatus, P. Sulpicius P. F. Quirinus.

11 Paulus Fabius Q. F. Maximus, Q. Aelius Q. F. Tubero.

10 Iulius Autonius M. F., Africanus Q. Fabius Q. F.

The following year, in which Marcus Marcelina and and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and

1 Μεσσάλαι Βάρβατοι ΧγΙ., μέσσαλοι δρβατοι V.Μ.

1: pistor Xyl., pa VM.

18 K. Alaior H. Steph., eac & VM.

11 Toukker Be., looking VM.

12 ferreyvoules Bk., deryceoples VM.

Obapos M. Obakinios Xyl., obavarepos obdotos V., ob aux yeporoudpios M. 12 M. H. Steph., μάρκου V.M.

^{14 &#}x27;Arrange Xyl., arrangest VM. 14 Sr. supplied by Ba.

κατακλείσαυτες ές το συνέδριον επηνώγκασαν τούτο ψηφίσασθαι, απειλούντές σφας καταπρήσειν, και μετά ταθτα τὰς ράβδους τὰς τέσσαρας καὶ είκοσι λαβόντες προσήλθον αὐτῷ, δικτάτορά τε άμα δεόμενοι λεχθήναι και έπιμελητήν του σίτου, καθάπερ ποτέ του Πομπήιου, γενέσθαι. 4 και δε τούτο μεν άναγκαίως εδέξατο, και εκέλευσε δύο ἄνδρας τῶν πρὸ πέντε που ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων πρός την του σίτου διανομήν κατ' έτος αίρεισθαι, την δε δικτατορίαν ου προσήκατο. άλλα και την έσθητα προσκατερρήξατο, έπειδή μηδένα τρόπον άλλως σφας έπισχείν, μήτε δια-5 λεγόμενος μήτε δεόμενος, ήδυνήθη την τε γάρ έξουσίαν και την τιμήν και ύπερ τούς δικτάτορας έχων, όρθως τό τε επίφθονον και το μισητου 2 της έπικλήσεως αυτών εφυλάξατο. το δ' αυτό τοῦτο καὶ τιμητήν αὐτον διὰ βίου χειροτονήσαι Βουλομένων εποίησεν ούτε γάρ την άρχην υπέστη, καὶ εύθὺς ἐτέρους τιμητάς, Παῦλόν τε Αἰμί. λιον Λέπιδον και Λούκιον Μουνάτιον Πλάγκον, τοῦτον μεν άδελφον τοῦ Πλάγκου εκείνου τοῦ έπικηρυχθέντος όντα, τον δε δη Λέπιδον αυτάν 2 τότε θανατωθέντα, ἀπέδειξεν. ἔσχατοι δη ουτοι την τιμητείαν ιδιώται άμα έσχον, ώσπερ που καὶ παραχρήμα αὐτοῖς ἐδηλώθη τὸ γὰρ βήμα άφ' ού τι πράξειν των προσηκόντων σφίσιν

¹ airşi Zon., airis VM. 2 airis M, airis V.

shutting the senators up in their meeting place, they we are forced them to vote this measure by threatening to burn down the building over their heads. they took the twenty-four rods 1 and approached Augustus, begging him to consent both to being named dictator and to becoming commissioner of the grain supply,2 as Pompey had once done,3 He accepted the latter duty under compulsion, and ordered that two men should be chosen annually, from among those who had served as practors not less than five years previously in every case, to attend to the distribution of the grain. As for the dictatorship, however, he did not accept the office. but went so far as to rend his garments when he found himself unable to restrain the people in any other way, either by argument or by entreaty; for, since he was superior to the dietators in the power and honour he already possessed, he properly guarded against the jealousy and hatred which the title would arouse. He took the same course also when they wished to elect him censor for life; for, declining to take the office himself, he immediately appointed others to be censors, namely Paulus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus, the latter a brother of that Plancus who had been proscribed, and the former a man who had himself been condemned to die at that same time. These were the last two private citizens to hold the censorship together, which was no doubt the meaning of the sign given to them; for the platform, on which they were to perform one of the functions devolving upon them,

2 Curator unnonne. 2 Cf. xxxix, 9.

¹ The fances; the dictator was regularly attended by twenty-four lictors. Cf. liii. 1, n. 1.

ήμελλον, συνέπεσεν ἀναβάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῆ πρώτη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡμέρα καὶ συνετρίβη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ οὐδένες ἄλλοι τιμηταὶ ὅμοιοι αὐτοῖς ἄμα ὁ ἐγένοντο. καὶ τότε δὲ ὁ Αἴγρυστος, καίπερ ἐκείνων αίρεθέντων, πολλὰ τῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνηκόντων ἔπραξε. τῶν τε συσσιτίων τὰ μὲν παντελῶς κατέλυσε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σωφρονέστερον συνέστειλε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν στρατηγοῖς τὰς πανηγύρεις πάσας προσέταξεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ δημοσίου 4 δίδοσθαί τι αὐτοῖς κελεύσας, καὶ προσαπειπὼν

μήτε ες εκείνας οικοθέν τινα πλείου τοῦ ετέρου αναλίσκειν μήθ' οπλομαχίαν μήτ' άλλως εί μη ή βουλή ψηφίσαιτο, μήτ αὖ πλεονάκις ή δὶς εν εκάστφ ετει, μήτε πλειόνων είκοσι καὶ έκατόν ἀνδρών ποιείν τοῖς δ' ἀγορανόμοις τοῖς κουρουλίοις τὴν τών ἐμπιμπραμένων κατάσβεσιν ένεχείρισεν, ἐξακοσίους σφίσι βοηθούς δούλους δούς.

5 ἐπειδή τε * καὶ ἰππῆς * καὶ γυναίκες ἐπιφανεῖς ἐν τῆ ὁρχήστρα καὶ τότε γε ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀπηγόρευσεν οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παισὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὅπερ που καὶ πρὶν ἐκεκώλυτο, ἀλλὰ κοὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις, τοῖς γε * ἐν τῆ ἱππάδι δῆλον ὅτι ἐξεταζομένοις, μηδὲν ἔτι

τοιούτο δράν.

Καὶ ἐν μὲν τούτοις τό τε τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ σχῆμα καὶ ὅνομα ἐπεδείκνυτο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμετρίαζεν, ὅστε καὶ

2 φίλοις τισὶν εὐθυνομένοις παραγίγγεσθαι. Μάρκου τέ τινος Πρίμου αἰτίαν ἔχοντος ὅτι τῆς Μακεδονίας ἄρχων 'Οδρύσαις ἐπολέμησε, καὶ

1 финецираціями Ditul., финепраціями VM.

² έπειδή το V. έπειδή τορ Μ. 2 έπεξε Μ. έπειε V. 2 γε Rk., το VM. 3 έπεδείκτυτο V. άπεδείκτυτο Μ.

collapsed as they ascended it on the first day of their accorholding the office, and was shattered in pieces, and after that no others of the same rank as these became censors together. Even at this time, in spite of their having been chosen to the position. Augustus performed many of the duties belonging to their office. Of the public banquets, he abolished some altogether and limited the extravagance of others. He committed the charge of all the festivals to the practors, commanding that an appropriation should be given them from the public treasury, and also forbidding any one of them to spend more than another from his own means on these festivals, or to give a gladiatorial combat unless the senate decreed it, or, in fact, oftener than twice in each year or with more than one hundred and twenty men. To the curule aediles he entrusted the putting out of fires, for which purpose he granted them six hundred slaves as assistants. And since knights and women of rank had given exhibitions on the stage even then,1 he forbade not only the sons of senators, who had even before this been excluded, but also their grandsons, so far, at least, as these belonged to the equestrian order, to do anything of the sort again.

Although in these measures he showed himself, in form as well as in name, both law-giver and arbitrary ruler, in his behaviour generally he was moderate, to such a degree, in fact, that he even stood by some of his friends when their official conduct was under investigation. Also when a certain Marcus Primus was accused of having made war upon the Odrysae while he was governor of Macedonia, and declared at

1 Cf. liff. 31.

287

λέγοντος τοτέ μεν τῆ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοτέ δὲ τῆ Μαρκέλλου γνώμη τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ἔς τε τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτεπάγγελτος ἢλθε, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ προστάξειἐν οἱ πολε-

3 μήσαι, έξαρνος έγένετο. τοῦ τε συναγορεύοντος τῶ Πρίμφ Λικινίου Μουρήνου ἄλλα τε ἐς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπορρίψαυτος, καὶ πυθομένου "τἰ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖς, καὶ τίς σε ἐκάλεσεν;" τοσοῦτον μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι "τὸ δημόσιου." ἐπὶ οὖν τούτοις ὑπο μὲν τῶν εὐ φρονούντων ἐπηνεῖτο, ὥστε καὶ τὸ τὴν βουλὴν ἀθροίζειν ὁσάκις ἀν ἐθελήση λαβεῖν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τινὲς κατεφρό-4 νησαν αὐτοῦ. ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ δλίγοι

υησαν αυτου. αμέλει και του Πρίμου ούκ όλίγοι άπεψηφίσαντο, και ἐπιβουλὴν ἔτεροι ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνέστησαν. Φάννιος μὲν γὰρ Καιπίων ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καί σφισι καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας συνομωμοκέναι, εἰτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέχθη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀκράτφ καὶ κατακορεῖ τῆ παρρησία πρὸς πάντας

δ όμοίως ἐχρῆτο. καὶ οὐ γὰο ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐρημην μὲν ὡς καὶ φευξόμενοι ῆλωσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ ἐπήρκεσαν τῷ Μουρήνα οὕτε ὁ Προκουλέιος ἀδελφὸς ῶν οὕτε ὁ Μαικήνας τῆ ἀδελφῆ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λύγούστου τιμώ-

6 μενοι. ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ τούτους τῶν δικαζόντων τινὲς ἀπέλυσαν, ἐνομοθέτησε μήτε κρύφα τὰς ψήφους ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δίκαις ψέρεσθαι, καὶ πάσαις αὐταῖς τὸν εὐθυνόμενον ἀλίσκεσθαι. καὶ ὅτι γε ταῦτ' οὐχ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ συμφέ-

^{*} Αποτίου Μ., Αποτείου V. * Φάτειοτ Lennal., φάτειοτ VM. * ελέχθη Μ., ἐλέγχθη V. * Προκουλέιοτ Βε., προκούλιατ VM.

one moment that he had done it with the approval se = of Augustus, and at another with that of Marcellus, Augustus came of his own accord to the courtroom; and upon being asked by the practor whether he had instructed the man to make war, he denied it. And when the advocate of Primus, Licinius Murena, in the course of some rather disrespectful remarks that he made to him, enquired: "What are you doing here, and who summoned you?" Augustus merely replied: "The public weal." For this he received praise from the people of good sense and was even given the right to convene the senate as often as he pleased; but some of the others despised him. At all events, not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a plot against Augustus. Fannius Caepio was the instigator of it. but others also joined with him. Even Murena was reported to be in the conspiracy, whether truly or by way of calumny, since he was immoderate and unrestrained in his outspokenness toward all alike. These men did not stand trial, and so were convicted by default, on the supposition that they intended to flee; and a little latter they were slain. Murena found neither Proculeius, his brother, nor Maecenas, his sister's husband, of any avail to save him, though these men were most highly honoured by Augustus. And inasmuch as some of the jurymen voted to acquit even these conspirators, the emperor made a law that in trials at which the defendant was not present the vote should not be taken secretly and the defendant should be convicted only by a unanimous vote. Now that he took these measures, not in anger, but as really conducive to

289

7 ροντα τῷ δημοσίω διέταξεν, ἰσχυρῶς διέδειξε τοῦ γοῦν πατρὸς τοῦ Καιπίωνος τὸν μὲν ἔτερον τῶν δούλων τῶν συμφυγόντων τῷ υἰεῖ ἐλευθερῶσαντος, ὅτι ἀμῦναί οἱ θνήσκοντι ἡθέλησε, τὸν δὲ ἱ ἔτερον τὸν προδόντα αὐτὸν διά τε τῆς ἀγορᾶς μέσης μετὰ γραμμάτων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ δηλούντων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς θανατώσεως αὐτοῦ δηλούντων σὸν ἀκαγαγόντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνα-

8 σταυρώσαντος, οὐκ ἡγανάκτησε. κὰν ἐξηκέσατο πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀρεσκομένων τοῖς πραχθεῖσι μέμψιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ θυσίας ὡς * καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη τινὶ

καὶ ψηφισθείσας περιείδε καὶ γενομένας.

Τότε δ' οὐν καὶ την Κύπρον καὶ την Γαλατίαν την Ναρβωνησίαν απέδωκε τω δήμω ώς μηδέν τών όπλων αὐτοῦ δεομένας και ούτως ἀνθύπατοι 2 καὶ ες εκείνα τὰ έθνη πέμπεσθαι ήρξαυτο. καὶ του του Διός του Βροντώντος ἐπικαλουμένου ναον καθιέρωσε περί ού δύο ταύτα παραδέδοται, ότι τότε τε έν τή ιερουργία βρουται έγένουτο, και μετά ταύτα όναρ τω Αύγούστω τοιόνδε έπέστη. των γαρ ανθρώπων, το μέν τι προς το ξένον και τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅτι 3 ύπὸ τοῦ Λύγούστου ίδρυτο, μέγιστον δὲ ὅτι πρώτφ οἱ ἀνιόντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνετύγχανον, προσερχομένων τε αὐτῷ καὶ σεβόντων, ἔδοξε του Δία του έν τω μεγάλω ναω όντα δργήν ως και τα δεύτερα αυτού φερόμενον ποιείσθαι, και έκ τούτου έκείνω τε είπειν έλεγεν ότι προφύλακα 4 του Βρουτώντα έχοι, καὶ ἐπειδη ήμέρα ἐγένετο,

κώδωνα αὐτῷ περιῆψε, βεβαιῶν την ὀνείρωξεν. *

1 τὸν δὲ Βκ., τινὰ δὲ VM. * εαὶ δυσίος & V, om. M.

abro R. Steph., abrov VM.

the public good, he gave very strong proof; at any acceptate, when Caepio's father freed one of the two slaves who had accompanied his son in his flight because this slave had wished to defend his young master when he met his death, but in the case of the second slave, who had deserted his son, led him through the midst of the Forum with an inscription making known the reason why he was to be put to death, and afterwards crucified him, the emperor was not vexed. Indeed, he would have allayed all the criticism of those who were not pleased with what had been done, had he not gone further and permitted sacrifices to be both voted and offered as for a victory.

It was at this time that he restored to the people both Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis as districts no longer needing the presence of his armies; and thus proconsuls began to be sent to those provinces also. He also dedicated the temple of Jupiter Tomans. Concerning this temple two stories have been handed down, first, that at that time claps of thunder occurred when the ritual was being performed, and, second, that at a later time Augustus had a dream as follows. The people, he thought, approached Jupiter who is called Tonans and did reverence to him, partly because of the novelty of his name and of the form of his statue, and partly because the statue had been set up by Augustus, but chiefly because it was the first they encountered as they ascended the Capitol; and thereupon the Jupiter in the great temple was angry because he was now reduced to second place as compared with the other. At this, Augustus related, he said to Jupiter Capitolinus, "You have Tonans as your sentine!"; and when it was day, he attached a bell to the statue as confirmation of the

οί γάρ τὰς συνοικίας νύκτωρ φυλάσσοντες κωδωνοφορούσιν, όπως σημαίνειν σφίσιν οπόταν δεηθώσι Ιδύνωνται.

Έν μεν δή τη Ρώμη ταθτ' εγίγνετο, υπό δε δή τούς αύτους τούτους χρόνους καὶ οἱ Κάνταβροι οί τε "Λστυρες ἐπολέμησαν αὐθις," ούτοι μὲν διά τε τρυφήν και δι ωμότητα του Καρισίου, οί δε δη Κάνταβροι, έπειδη έκείνους τε νεωτερίζοντας ήσθοντο και τοῦ ἄρχοντός σφων Γαΐου Φουρνίου κατεφρόνησαν, ότι τε νεωστί άφικτο καί ότι άπειρου αυτου των παρ' έαυτοις πραγμάτων είναι 2 έδοξαν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργω τοιοῦτός σφισιν έφανη, άλλ' ήττηθέντες αμφύτεροι ύπ' αὐτοῦ (καὶ γαρ τῷ Καρισίω προσήμυνεν) έδουλώθησαν. καὶ των μέν Καντάβρων οὐ πολλοί εάλωσαν έπειδη γαρ ανέλπιστον την έλευθερίαν έσχον, οὐδέ ζην 3 ηθέλησαν, άλλ' οί μεν τὰ ερύματα προεμπρή-

σαντες έαυτούς άπέσφαξαν, οι δέ και έκείνοις έθελονταί συγκατεκαύθησαν, άλλοι δημοσία φαρμάκων ένεπλήσθησαν, ώστε τό τε πλείστον καί τὸ ἀγριώτατον αὐτῶν φθαρήναι οί δ' *Λστυρες ώς τάχιστα χωρίον τέ τι πολιορκούντες άπηλάθησαν καὶ μάχη μετά τοῦτ ἐνικήθησαν, οὐκέτ άντηραν άλλ' εύθυς έχειρώθησαν.

Τπο δε του αυτου τούτου χρόνου οι Λίθίσπες οί ύπερ Λίγύπτου οίκοθυτες προεχώρησαν μεν μέχρι της πόλεως της Ελεφαντίνης ώνομασμένης. πάντα τὰ ἐν ποσὶ πορθούντες, ἡγουμένης σφίσιν Κανδάκης: πυθόμενοι δε ένταθθά που Γάιον Πετρώνιον του τής Αιγύπτου άρχοντα προσιέναι,

¹ Senduar Dinel., durgemar V.M. 1 abber Xyl., abrait VM

vision. For those who guard communities at night a.c. 22 carry a bell, in order to be able to signal to the

inhabitants whenever they need to do so.

These were the events that occurred in Rome; and at about this same period the Cantabri and the Astures broke out into war again, the Astures on account of the luxurious ways and cruelty of Carisius, and the Cantabri because they perceived that the others were in revolt and because they despised their own governor, Gains Furnius, since he had but lately arrived and they supposed that he was unacquainted with conditions among them. Nevertheless, he did not appear to them that sort of man when it came to action; for they were defeated and reduced to slavery by him, and the Astures likewise, since he also aided Carisius. Not many of the Cantabri were captured; for when they had no hope of freedom, they did not chose to live, either, but some set their forts on fire and cut their own throats, and others of their own choice remained with them and were consumed in the flames, while yet others took poison in the sight of all. Thus the most of them and the fiercest element perished. As for the Astures, as soon as they had been repulsed while besieging a certain stronghold and had later been defeated in battle, they offered no further resistance, but were promptly subdued.

About this same time the Ethiopians, who dwell beyond Egypt, advanced as far as the city called Elephantine, with Candace as their leader, ravaging everything they encountered. At Elephantine, however, learning that Gains 1 Petronius, the governor of Egypt, was approaching, they hastily retreated before

Pliny (Nat. Hist. vi. 181) calls him Publius.

0 πλείου αὐτοῦ ἐπαγόμενος, κὰν τούτω τῶν Λἰθιόπων τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθεμένων αὖθίς τε ἐπὰ αὐτοὺς ἐστρίτευσε, καὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐρρύσατο.

Έν δ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αύγουστος ἐς

καὶ τὴν Κανδάκην συμβήναι οι ἡνάγκασεν.

Σικελίαν ήλθεν, όπως καὶ ἐκείνην καὶ τάλλα τὰ μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καταστήσηται, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἔτ' ὅντος ὁ δήμος τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τοὺς ὑπάτους χειροτονῶν ἐστασίασεν, ὅστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου διαδειχθήναι ὅτι ἀδύνατον ἢν δημοκρατου2 μένους σφάς σωθήναι, μικροῦ γοῦν τινος ἔν τε ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς κυριεύοντες ἐθορύβησαν, ἐτηρεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἐτέρα χώρα τῷ Αὐγούστω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μάρκος Λόλλιος κατ ἀρχάς τοῦ ἔτους μόνος ἡρξεν ἐκείνου δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου αὐτὴν Κύιντός τε Λέπιδος καὶ Λούκιος Σιλουανὸς ἐσπουδαρχίασαν, καὶ οῦτω γε πάντα συνετάραξαν ὅστε καὶ τὸν Αὕγου-3 στον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἀνακληθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ

t τε supplied by Rk. * Naxdτyr Dind., τανάπην VM Xiph.
* Βασίλειον αὐτιὸν Ιλαβεν Χiph., Βασίλειον ἀτιλαβεν VM.
* κατελεφθη Χiph., κατελήρθη VM. * δί δή V.

he arrived, hoping to make good their escape. But as a being overtaken on the road, they were defeated and thus drew him after them into their own country. There, too, he fought successfully with them, and took Napata, their capital, among other cities. place was razed to the ground, and a garrison left at another point; for Petronius, finding himself unable either to advance farther, on account of the sand and the heat, or advantageously to remain where he was with his entire army, withdrew, taking the greater part of it with him. Thereupon the Ethiopians attacked the garrisons, but he again proceeded against them, rescued his own men, and compelled Candace to make terms with him.

While this was going on, Augustus went to Sicily in order to settle affairs in that island and elsewhere as far as Syria. While he was still there, the Roman populace fell to quarrelling over the election of the consuls. This incident showed clearly that it was impossible for a democratic government to be maintained among them; at any rate, although they had but little authority either in the matter of the elections or of the offices themselves, they fell to rioting. One of the consulships, it seems, was being kept for Augustus. and accordingly at the beginning of the year Marcus a.c. 21 Lollius alone entered upon office; but when the emperor would not accept the position, Quintus Lepidus and Lucius Silvanus became rival candidates and threw everything into such turmoil that Augustus was summoned home by those who retained their senses. He

ούχ υπέστρεψε μέν, έλθόντας δε αυτούς ποὸς αύτον απέπεμψεν έπιτιμήσας σφίσι και κελεύσας άμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἀπόντων τὴν ψῆφον δοθῆναι, ούδεν μάλλον ήσύχασαν, άλλα και πάνυ αδθις διηνένθησαν, ώστε τον Λέπιδον δψέ ποτε αίρε-4 θήναι. άγανακτήσας ούν έπὶ τούτω ὁ Αύγουστος. καὶ μήτε μόνη τη Ρώμη σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ αδ άναρχου αυτήν καταλιπείν τολμών, έξήτει τινά αὐτή ἐπιστήσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν 'Αγρίπ-5 παν έπιτηδειότατον ές τούτο είναι, βουληθείς δέ δή και άξίωμα αυτώ μείζου περιθείναι, ίνα και έκ τούτου ράον αὐτών ἄρχη, μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας την γυναϊκα, καίπερ άδελφιδην αύτοῦ οὐσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῆ Ἰουλία συνοικήσαι, ές την Ρώμην παραγρήμα και έπι τω γάμω καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἔπεμψε, διά τε τάλλα καὶ ότι ὁ Μαικήνας συμβουλευομένω οί περί αυτών τούτων είπειν λέγεται ότι "τηλικούτον αυτόν πεποίηκας ώστ' ή γαμβρόν σου β γενέσθαι ή φονευθήναι." και δε τά μέν άλλα οίδουντα έτι εύρων κατεστήσατο, τά τε ίερα τά Αίγυπτια έπεσιόντα αύθις ές τὸ άστυ ἀνέστειλευ. άπειπών μηδένα μηδέ έν τῷ προαστείω αυτά έντος ογδόου ήμισταδίου ποιείν ταραχής δέ τινος περί την 1 του πολιάρχου του διά τάς άνοχάς αίρουμένου χειροτονίου συμβάσης ούκ επεκράτησευ αύτης, άλλά άνευ της άρχης ταύτης του ένιαυτου έκείναν διεγένουτο.

¹ the supplied by R. Steph.

would not return, however, and when the two as a eandidates themselves came to him, he rebuked them and sent them away, giving orders that the vote should be taken during the absence of them both; thereupon the people were no more quiet than before, but fell into great strife again, until at last Lepidus was chosen. Augustus was displeased at the incident for he could not devote all his time to Rome alone and did not dare to leave the city in a state of anarchy; accordingly, he sought for some one to set over it, and judged Agrippa to be most suitable for the purpose. And as he wished to invest him with a dignity above the ordinary, in order that he might govern the people more easily, he summoned him, compelled him to divorce his wife, although she was the emperor's own niece, and to marry Julia; and he sent him to Rome at once to attend both to the wedding and to the administration of the city. This step is said to have been taken partly on the advice of Maecenas, who in counselling him upon these very matters said; "You have made him so great that he must either become your son-in-law or be slain." Agrippa, then, checked whatever other ailments he found still festering, and curtailed the Egyptian rites which were again invading the city, forbidding anyone to perform them even in the suburbs within one mile of the city.1 And when a disturbance arose over the election of the prefect of the city, the official chosen on account of the Feriae,2 he did not succeed in quelling it, but they went through that year without this official.

1 Cf. note on li. 19, 6.

The prefect of the city was appointed to have charge of the city during the absence of the two consuls in attendance upon the celebration at the Alban Mount.

7 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ὁ δὲ Αύγουστος τά τε άλλα τὰ ἐν τῆ Σικελία διοικήσας, καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ι έτέρας τε τινας πόλεις ι άποίκους Ρωμαίων αποδείξας ές την Ελλάδα επεραιώθη. 2 και Λακεδαιμονίους μέν τοις τε Κυθήροις και τη συσσιτία ετίμησεν, ότι ή Λιουία, ότε έκ της Ίταλίας σύν τε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σύν τῷ νίεῖ ἔφυγεν, έκει διέτριψεν 'Αθηναίων δέ τήν τε Λίγιναν και την Ερέτριαν (έκαρπούντο γάρ αὐτάς), ώς τινές φασιν, άφείλετο, ότι τον 'Αντώνιον έσπούδασαν, καί προσέτι και άπηγόρευσε σφισι μηδένα πολίτην παργυρίου ποιείσθαι. καὶ αύτοις ἐς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ τῷ τῆς 'Αθηνῶς ἀγάλματι συμβὰν ἀποσκήψαι. έν γαρ τη ακροπόλει προς δανατολών ίδρυμένον πρός τε τὰς δυσμάς μετεστράφη και αίμα ἀπέι πτυσεν. ο δ' ουν ' Αυγουστος το τε 'Ελληνικόν διήγαγε καὶ ές Σάμον επλευσεν, ενταύθά τε έγείμασε, καὶ ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐν τῶ ἡρι ἐν ὧ Μᾶρκος τε Απουλέιος εκαί Πούπλιος Σίλιος υπάτευσαν κομισθείς πάντα τά τε έκει και τὰ έν τη Βιθυνία 5 διέταξεν, σύχ ότι του δήμου και ταθτα τὰ έθνη και τὰ πρότερα έδόκει είναι ἐν όλυγωρία αὐτά ποιησάμενος, άλλα και πάνυ πάντων σφών ώς καὶ ἐαυτοῦ ὄντων ἐπιμεληθείς τά τε γάρ ἄλλα οσαπερ και προσήκον ην επηνώρθωσε, και χρήματα τοίς μεν επέδωκε τοίς δε και υπέρ τον φορον 6 έσενεγκεω προσέταξε, τούς τε Κυζικηνούς, ότι 'Ρωμαίους τινάς έν στάσει μαστιγώσαντες απέκτειναν, έδουλώσατο, και τούτο και τούς Τυρίους

Συρακούσαι Β. Steph., συρακούσσαι VM.
 πόλειτ Μ, οπι. V.
 πρότ Reim., τἢ πρότ VM.
 δ' οδο Pflugh, γοῦν VM.
 Δ' απουλέιοι Bs., ἀνσόλιοι VM.

While Agrippa was thus occupied, Augustus, after no 21 arranging various matters in Sicily and making Roman colonies of Syracuse and certain other cities, crossed over into Greece. He honoured the Lacedaemonians by giving them Cythera and attending their public mess, because Livia, when she fled from Italy with her husband and son,1 had spent some time there. But from the Athenians he took away Aegina and Eretria, from which they received tribute, because, as some say, they had espoused the cause of Antony; and he furthermore forbade them to make anyone a citizen for money. And it seemed to them that the thing which had happened to the statue of Athena was responsible for this misfortune ; for this statue on the Acropolis, which was placed to face the east, had turned around to the west and spat blood. Augustus, now, after transacting what business he had in Greece, sailed to Samos, where he passed the winter; and in the spring of the year a.c. m when Mareus Apuleius and Publins Silius were consuls, he went on into Asia, and settled everything there and in Bithynia. For although these provinces as well as those previously mentioned were regarded as belonging to the people, he did not for that reason neglect them, but gave most careful attention to them all, as if they were his own. Thus he instituted various reforms, so far as seemed desirable. and made donations of money to some, at the same time commanding others to contribute an amount in excess of the tribute. He reduced the people of Cyzieus to slavery because during a factious quarrel they had flogged and put to death some Romans. And when he reached Syria, he took the same action

τοίς τε Σιδωνίους διά τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησεν, ἐν

τη 1 Συρία γενόμενος.3

- 8 Κάν τούτω ὁ Φραάτης φοβηθείς μη καὶ ἐπιστρατεύση οἱ, ὅτι μηδέπω τῶν συγκειμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τά τε σημεῖα αὐτῷ³ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλην ὁλίγων οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνης σφᾶς ἔφθειραν ἡ καὶ κατὰ χώραν λαθόντες ἔμειναν, ² ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμω
 - 2 ἄπέπεμψε. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὡς καὶ πολέμω τινὶ τὸν Πάρθον νενικηκὼς ἔλαβε καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφρόνει μέγα, λέγων ὅτι τὰ πρότερὸν ποτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπολόμενα ἀκονιτὶ ἐκεκό-
 - 3 μιστο. ἀμέλει καὶ θυσίας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ νεὼν Αρεως Τιμωροῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίω, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου ζήλωμα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν σημείων ἀνάθεσιν καὶ ψηφισθῆναι ἐκέλὲυσε καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσήλασε καὶ άψῖδι τροπαιοφόρω ἐτιμήθη.
- 4 ταῦτα μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ὕστερον ἐπράχθη· τότε δὲ αὐτός τε προστάτης τῶν περὶ τὴν Ρώμην ὁδῶν αἰρεθεὶς καὶ τὰ χρυσοῦν μίλιον κεκλημένον ἔστησε, καὶ ὁδοποιοὺς αὐταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, ῥαβδούχοις δύο χρωμένους, προσέταξε.
- 5 καὶ ἡ Ἰουλία τον Γάιον ονομασθέντα έτεκε, βουθυσία τέ τις τοις γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἀίδιος ἐδόθη· καὶ τοῦτο μεν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὥσπερ που καὶ

^{1 78} M, om. V.

² γετόμετας -τὸν τοῦ Κυρί (chap. 19, 4) omitted in V, whose archetype L had lost five folios at this point.

² abro Xiph., abros M.

⁴ dal rooters supplied by Reim, from Kiph,

That is, he celebrated an ocaho. 2 Caralor caraga.

The milliarium aureum stood at the north end of the Forum near the Temple of Saturn, marking the point where

in the case of the people of Tyre and Sidon on ac. m

account of their factions quarrelling.

Meanwhile Phraates, fearing that Augustus would lead an expedition against him because he had not yet performed any of his engagements, sent back to him the standards and all the captives, with the exception of a few who in shame had destroyed themselves or, eluding detection, remained in the country. Augustus received them as if he had conquered the Parthian in a war; for he took great pride in the achievement, declaring that he had recovered without a struggle what had formerly been lost in battle. Indeed, in honour of this success he commanded that sacrifices be decreed and likewise a temple to Mars Ultor on the Capitol, in imitation of that of Jupiter Feretrius, in which to dedicate the standards; and he himself carried out both decrees. Moreover he rode into the city on horseback 1 and was honoured with a triumphal arch. Now all this was done later in commemoration of the event; but at the time of which we are speaking he was chosen commissioner of all the highways in the neighbourhood of Rome," and in this capacity set up the golden mile-stone,3 as it was called, and appointed men from the number of the ex-practors, each with two lictors, to attend to the actual construction of the roads. And Julia gave birth to a boy, who received the name Gains; and a permanent annual sacrifice on his birthday was granted. Now this, like all the other acts mentioned, was done in pursuance

all the great roads met. It was a column covered with gilt brome, and was engraved with the names of the more important cities of the empire with their distances from Bome. Distances were actually measured, however, from the city gates.

τάλλα, εγένετο ίδια δε δη οι αγορανόμοι ίπποδρομίαν τε έν τοῦς τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενεθλίοις καὶ

θηρίων σφαγάς εποίησαν.

Εν μέν ουν τη πόλει ταυτ επράττετο, ο δε Αύγουστος το μέν υπήκοον κατά τὰ τών Ρωμαίων έθη διώκει, το δέ ένσπονδον τώ πατρίω σφίσι τρόπω εία ερχεσθαι οὐδ ήξίωσεν οὕτε ἐκείνω² τι προσθέσθαι οὕτε ἔτερόν τι προσκτήσασθαι, άλλ' ἀκριβώς ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν έδι-2 καίου, και τούτο και τή βουλή επέστειλεν, ώστε πολέμου μέν οὐδεν τότε ο εφήψατο, δυναστείας δε δη Ίαμβλίχο τε το Ίαμβλίχου την τών Αραβίων την πατρώαν και Ταρκονδιμότω τώ Ταρκουδιμότου την της Κιλικίας, ην ο πατήρ αύτου έσχε, πλην παραθαλασσιδίων τινών έδωκεν έκεινα γάρ τω 'Αρχελάω μετά της σμικροτέρας 'Αρμενίας έχαρίσατο, ότι ο Μήδος ο πριν αυτής 3 βασιλεύων ετεθνήκει. τω τε Πρώδη Ζηνοδώρου τινός τετραρχίαν, και Μιθριδάτη τινί την Κομμαγηνήν, επείδη του πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεύς αυτής απεκτόνει, καίτοι παιδίσκο έτ' όντι έπέ-4 τρεψε. τών τε 'Αρμενίων των έτέρων του τε 'Αρτάξου' κατηγορησάντων και τον Τυγράνην τον άδελφον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη ὅντα μεταπεμιφαμένων, έστειλε του Τιβέριου, δπως του μέν έκβάλη της βασιλείας, τον δε ές αυτήν άποκατα-5 στήση. καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν οὐδὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς αύτου άξιον οι γάρ Αρμένιοι του Αρτάξην προαπέκτειναν ό δ' ούν Τιβέριος, άλλως τε καί

¹ ela Leunel., del M. 2 farley Itk., éscieur M. Apraços St., ápraços M (and similarly just below). 4 foreide Bk., partoreide M.

of a decree; on their own initiative, however, the see an aediles gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of

wild beasts on Augustus' birthday.

This is what was going on in the city. Augustus administered the subject territory according to the customs of the Romans, but permitted the allied nations to be governed in their own traditional manner: and he did not regard it as desirable either to make any additions to the former or to extend the latter by any new acquisitions, but thought it best to be satisfied with precisely what they already possessed, and he communicated this opinion to the senate. Therefore he undertook no war, at any rate for the time being, but actually gave away certain principalities -to lamblichus, the son of lamblichus, his ancestral dominion over the Arabians, and to Tarcondimotus, the son of Tarcondimotus, the kingdom of Cilicia, which his father had held, except for a few places on the coast. These latter together with Lesser Armenia he granted to Archelaus, because the Mede, who previously had ruled them, was dead. To Herod he entrusted the tetrarchy of a certain Zenodorus, and to one Mithridates, though still a mere boy, he gave Commagene, inasmuch as its king had put the boy's father to death. And since the other Armenians had preferred charges against Artaxes and had summoned his brother Tigranes, who was in Rome, the emperor sent Tiberius to drive Artaxes out of the kingdom and to reinstate Tigranes. And although nothing was accomplished by Tiberius commensurate with his preparations, since before his arrival the Armenians slew Artaxes, yet he assumed a lofty bearing, especially after sacrifices had been

έπειδη θυσίαι έπὶ τούτω έψηφίσθησαν, έσεμνύ-6 νετο ώς και κατ' άρετήν τι ποιήσας. και ήδη γε καὶ περί της μουαρχίας ένενδει, έπειδή προς τούς Φιλίππους αὐτοῦ 1 προσελαύνοντος θόρυβος τέ τις έκ του της μάγης γωρίου ώς και έκ στρατοπέδου ήκούσθη, καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Αντωνίου ἐν τῶ ταφρεύματι ίδρυθέντων αὐτό-7 ματον ανέλαμψε. Τιβέριος μεν δή έκ τούτων έγαυρούτο, ό δὲ Αύγουστος ές τε τὴν Σάμον έπανήλθε κάνταθθα αθθις έχείμασε, καὶ ἐκείνοις τε έλευθερίαν μισθον της διατριβής αντέδωκε, 8 καὶ άλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα προσδιώκησε. πάμπολλαι γαρ δή πρεσβείαι πρός αυτόν άφικοντο, και οί Ίνδοὶ προκηρυκευσάμενοι πρότερον φιλίαν τότε έσπείσαντο, δώρα πέμψαντες άλλα τε και τίγρεις. πρώτον τότε τοίς 'Ρωμαίοις, νομίζω δ' ότι καλ τοις Ελλησιν, όφθείσας. καί τι και μειράκιον οί άνευ ώμων, οΐους τούς Έρμας όρωμεν, έδωκαν. 9 και μέντοι τοιούτον ου έκείνο ές πάντα τοις προίν άτε και χερσίν έχρητο, τύξου τε αυτοίς επέτεινε και βέλη ήφίει και έσάλπιζεν, ούκ οίδ' όπως 10 γράφω γάρ τὰ λεγόμενα. είς δ' οὐν τῶν 'Ινδῶν Ζάρμαρος, είτε δή του των σοφιστών γένους ών. καί κατά τοῦτο ύπο φιλοτιμίας, είτε και ύπο τοῦ γήρως κατά τον πάτριον νόμον, είτε και ές έπίδειξιν του τε Αυγούστου και των 'Αθηναίων (και γαρ έκεισε ήλθεν) αποθανείν έθελήσας έμνήθη τε τα τοιν θεοίν, των μυστηρίων καίπερ ούκ έν τώ

voted to commemorate what he had done, as though as to he had accomplished something by valour. And his thoughts were already on the monarchy, inasmuch as, when he was approaching Philippi, a tumult was heard coming from the field of the battle, as if from an army, and fire blazed up spontaneously from the altars which Antony had built in the fortified camp. Tiberius, accordingly, was feeling elated over these occurrences. But Augustus, for his part, returned to Samos and once more passed the winter there. In recognition of his stay he gave the islanders their freedom, and he also attended to many matters of business. For a great many embassies came to him, and the people of India, who had already made overtures, now made a treaty of friendship, sending among other gifts tigers, which were then for the first time seen by the Romans, as also, I think, by the Greeks. They also gave him a boy who had no shoulders or arms, like our statues of Hermes. And yet, defective as he was, he could use his feet for everything, as if they were hands: with them he would stretch a bow, shoot missiles, and put a trumpet to his lips. How he did this I do not know; I merely state what is recorded. One of the Indians, Zarmarus, for some reason wished to die,-either because, being of the easte of sages, he was on this account moved by ambition, or, in accordance with the traditional custom of the Indians, because of old age, or because he wished to make a display for the benefit of Augustus and the Athenians (for Augustus had reached Athens); he was therefore initiated into the mysteries of the two goddesses,1 which were held

Demeter and Korê.

395

30

καθήκουτι καιρώ, ώς φασι, διά του Αύγουστου και αυτου μεμυημένου γενομένων. και πυρί

έαυτου ζώντα εξέδωκεν.

10 Υπάτευε μέν δὴ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνω³ Γάιος Σέντιος ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν συνάρξοντα αὐτῷ προσαποδειχθῆναι ἔδει (ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος οὐδὲ τότε τηρηθεῖσάν οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξατο), στάσις τε αὐθις ἐν τῆ Ῥώμη συνηνέχθη καὶ σφαγαὶ συνέβησαν, ὥστε τοὺς βουλευτὰς φρουρὰν τῷ Σεντίω¹ 2 ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδή τε ¾ μὴ ο ἡθέλησεν αὐτῆ χρή-

2 ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπειδή τε μη θήθέλησεν αὐτῆ χρήσασθαι, πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον, μετὰ δύο ραβδούχων ἔκαστον, ἔπεμψαν. μαθών οὖν ταῦτ ἐκεῖνος, καὶ συνιδών ὅτι οὐδὲν πέρας τοῦ κακοῦ γενήσοιτο, οὐκέτ αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν προσηνέχθη, ἀλλὶ ἔκ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν αὐτῶν Κύιντον Λουκρήτιον, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικηρυχθείσιν ἀναγραφέντα, ὕπατον ἀπέδειξε, καὶ αὐτὸς 3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπείχθη. καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπί τε τούτοις

χοείσιν αναγραφέντα, υπάτον απέσειξε, και άυτος ές την 'Ρώμην ήπείχθη. και αυτώ έπί τε τούτοις και έπι τοις άλλοις τοις έν τη ἀποδημία πραχθείσι πολλά και παντοία έψηφίσθη ών ούδεν προσήκατο, πλην Τύχη τε Έπαναγώγω (ούτω γάρ πως αὐτην ἐκάλεσαν) βωμόν ίδρυθηναι και την ήμέραν ην ἀφίξοιτο ἔν τε ταις ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεϊσθαι

4 και Λύγουστάλια ονομάζεσθαι. έπει δε και ως αι τε άρχαι και οι άλλοι προαπαντήσαι οι προπαρεσκευάσαντο, νύκτωρ ες την πόλιν εσεκαμάση, και τη ύστεραια τῷ τε Τιβερίω τὰς τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τιμὰς ἔδωκε, και τῷ Δρούσω πέντε ἔτεσι θᾶσσον παρὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα τὰς

⁴ abrie supplied by Rk.

^{*} tweire Reim., is & M.

^{*} yeroulewe Rk., yerouerer M.
* Zerrie R. Steph., yerries M.
* uh Dind., pipre M.

out of season on account, they say, of Augustus, who was 20 also was an initiate, and he then threw himself alive into the fire.

The consul that year was Gaius Sentius; and when as to it became necessary for a colleague to be elected (for Augustus on this occasion, also, did not accept the position after it had been kept open for him), factious quarrelling again took place and murders occurred, so that the senators voted a guard for Sentius; and when he was unwilling to use it, they sent envoys to Augustus, each with two lictors. Now when the emperor learned of these things, realizing that there would be no end to the evil, he did not this time deal with the matter as he had before, but appointed one of the envoys themselves, Quintus Lucretius, to the consulship, though this man's name had been posted in the list of the proscribed; and he hastened to Rome himself. For this and the other things he had done while absent from the city many honours of all sorts were voted him, none of which he would accept, save the founding of an altar to Fortuna Redux (for this was the name they gave to her), and the provision that the day on which he arrived should be numbered among the holidays and be called Augustalia. Since even then the magistrates and the rest made preparations beforehand to go out to meet him, he entered the city by night; and on the following day he gave Tiberius the rank of an ex-practor and allowed Drusus to stand for the various offices five years earlier than was the practice.

5 άρχας αλτήσαι έπέτρεψεν. έπειδή τε μηδέν ώμολόγει όσα τε απόντος αυτού στασιάζοντες και δσα παρύντος φοβούμενοι έπρασσον, έπιμελητής τε των τρόπων ές πέντε έτη! παρακληθείς δή έγειροτονήθη, και την έξουσίαν την μέν τών τιμητων ές τον αύτον χρόνον την δέ τών ύπάτων διά βίου έλαβεν, ώστε και ταίς δώδεκα ράβδοις άει καί πανταχού χρήσθαι, καὶ έν μέσω τών άει 2 ύπατευόντων έπι του άρχικου δίφρου καθίζεσθαι.

ε ψηφισάμενοι δέ ταυτα διορθούν τε πάντα αυτόν " καὶ νομοθετείν όσα βούλοιτο ήξίουν, καὶ τούς τε νόμους τούς γραφησομένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Αὐγούστους έκείθεν ήδη προσηγόρευον, και έμμενείν σφισιν δμόσαι δήθελον. ο δε τα μεν άλλα ώς ο και άναγκαια έδέξατο, τους δ' δρκους άφηκεν τ αύτοις και γαρ εὐ ήδει ότι, εἰ μέν άπο γνώμης τι ψηφίσαιντο, τηρήσουσιν αύτο κάν μη δμόσωσιν, εί δε μή, ουδεν αυτού, κάν μυρίας πίστεις επαγά-

γωσι, προτιμήσουσιν.

11 Αύγουστος μεν δή ταθτ' έποίει, καί τις των άγορανόμων έθελουτής ύπο πενίας άπείπε την άργην Αγρύππας δέ ώς τότε ές την Ρώμην έκ της Σικελίας πεμφθείς διώκησε τα κατεπείγοντα, 2 ταις Γαλατίαις προσετάχθη έν τε γάρ άλλήλοις έστασίαζον καὶ ύπο των Κελτών έκακούντο.

καταστήσας δέ και έκεινα ές Ίβηρίαν μετέστη. οί γάρ Κάνταβροι οί ζωργηθέντες τε έν τίδ πο-

I'm supplied by Xyl. (cf. Zon : ris werestlar). 2 del Bk., old M. abras Rk., abra M.

⁴ supervir Dind., supervir M. 5 dusom Xyl., succe M. 4 des Bk., de des M.

ηρφσουσικ Βαίαι., τηρούσιο Μ. " δμόσωσεν Rk., δμολογήσωσεν M. · spotiugovose Rk , spoferlower M.

And inasmuch as there was no similarity between the me. It conduct of the people during his absence, when they quarrelled, and while he was present, when they were afraid, he accepted an election, on their invitation, to the position of supervisor of morals I for five years, and took the authority of censor for the same period and that of consul for life, and in consequence had the right to use the twelve rods always and everywhere and to sit in the curule chair between the two men who were at the time consuls. After voting these measures they begged him to set everything to rights and to enact whatever laws he liked; and the laws which should be proposed by him they called "leges Augustae" from that very moment, and desired to take an oath that they would abide by them. He accepted all the other measures, believing them to be necessary, but did not require the oaths from them; for he well knew that, if any measure they decreed should represent their judgment, they would observe it even without taking an oath, but if it should not, they would pay no heed to it, even if they should offer ten thousand guarantees.

Augustus, then, was engaged with these matters; and one of the aediles voluntarily resigned his office by reason of poverty. As for Agrippa, as soon as he had settled whatever business was urgent in Rome, whither he had been sent from Sicily on the occasion mentioned, he was then assigned to the provinces of Gaul; for the people there not only were quarrelling among themselves, but also were being harassed by the Germans. After putting a stop to those troubles, too, he went over to Spain. It seems that the Cantabri who had been captured alive in the war

Praefectus moribus. See chap. 6, 5.

λέμφ και πραθέντες τούς τε δεσπότας σφων ώς ἔκαστοι ἀπέκτειναν, και πρός την οικείαν ἐπανελθόντες πολλούς συναπέστησαν, και μετ' αὐτών χωρία καταλαβόντες και ἐντειχισάμενοι τοῖς των

3 Ρωμαίων φρουροῖς ἐπεβούλευου, ἐπ' οὖν τούτους ὁ Αγρίππας ἐπιστρατεύσας ἔσχε μέν τι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔργου πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ οὐκ ὁλίγοι αὐτῶν ὅντες καὶ τῆ συνεχεία τῶν πολέμων τετρυχωμένοι, τούς τε Καντάβρους ὡς καὶ δυσπο-

4 λεμήτους δεδιότες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μέν, τὰ μὲν νουθετήσας τὰ δὲ παραμυθησάμενος τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπελπίσας,¹ διὰ ταχέων πειθαρχήσαι ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοὺς Καντάβρους πολλὰ προσέπταισεν καὶ γὰρ ἐμπειρία πραγμάτων, ἄτε τοῖς 'Ρωμαίοις δεδουλευκότες, καὶ ἀπογνώσει τοῦ μὴ ἄν ἔτι σωθήναι ἀλόντες ἐχρῶντο.

5 τέλος δέ ποτε συχνούς μεν ἀποβαλών τών στρατιωτών, συχνούς δε καὶ ἀτιμώσας ὅτι ἡττώντο (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ στρατόπεδον ὅλον Αὐγουστον ἐπωνομασμένον ἐκώλυσεν οὕτως ἔτι καλεῖσθαι), τούς τε ἐν τἢ ἡλικία πολεμίους πάντας ὀλίγου διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς τὰ τε ὅπλα ἀφείλετο

6 καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκ τῶν ἐρυμνῶν κατεβίβασεν. οὐ μὴν οὕτε ἐπέστειλέ τι τῆ βουλῆ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὕτε τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Λύγούστου προστάξεως ψηφισθέντα προσήκατο, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τούτοις ἐμετρίαζεν ώσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ γνώμην ποτὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρωτηand sold, had killed their masters in every case, and ac is returning home, had induced many to join in their rebellion; and with the aid of these they had seized some positions, walled them in, and were plotting against the Roman garrisons. It was against these people, then, that Agrippa led an expedition. But he had some trouble also with his soldiers; for not a few of them were too old and were exhausted by the continual wars; and fearing the Cantabri as men hard to subdue, they would not obey him. Nevertheless, partly by admonishing and exhorting them, and partly by inspiring them with hopes, he soon made them yield obedience. In fighting against the Cantabri, however, he met with many reverses; for they not only had gained practical experience, as a result of having been slaves to the Romans, but also despaired of having their lives granted to them again if they were taken captive. But finally Agrippa was successful; after losing many of his soldiers, and degrading many others because they kept being defeated (for example, he gave orders that the entire Augustan legion, as it had been called, should no longer bear that name), he at length destroyed nearly all of the enemy who were of military age, deprived the rest of their arms, and forced them to come down from their fortresses and live in the plains. Yet he sent no communication concerning them to the senate, and did not accept a triumph, although one was voted at the behest of Augustus, but showed moderation in these matters as was his went; and once, when asked by the consul for his opinion about his brother, he would not give it. At

Nothing of this sort is recorded elsewhere. The passage may be corrupt; it has been proposed to read *ph for bwip, "ahead of the consul's brother," i.e. out of his turn.

7 θείς οὐκ ἔδωκε. το τε ὕδωρ τὸ Παρθένιον καλούμενον τοῖς ἱδίοις τέλεσιν ἐσαγαγών Αύγουστον προσηγόρευσε. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐκεῖνος ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε σπάνεώς ποτε οἴνου γενομένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεινὰ διαβοώντων, ἰκανώτατα ἔφη τὸν Αγρίππαν προνενοηκέναι ὥστε μὴ δίψη ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι.

Τοιούτος μὲν δὴ ούτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢν τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τινὲς οὐχ ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτῷ πράσσοντες, ἀλλ' οί μὲν ληστὰς συλλαμβάνοντες οἱ δὲ πόλεις στασιαζούσας καταλλάσσοντες, καὶ ἐπωρέγοντο

2 τῶν νικητηρίων καὶ ἔπεμπον αὐτά. ὁ γὰρ Αύγουστος καὶ ταῦτα ἀφθόνως τισὶ τήν γε πρώτην ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ δημοσίαις ταφαῖς πλείστους ὅσους ἐτίμα. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἐλαμπρύνουτο, ὁ δὲ Αγρίππας ἐς τὴν αὐταρχίαν τρόπου

3 τινά ύπ' αὐτοῦ προήχθη. ὁ γὰρ Αὐγουστος, ὡς τά τε κοινὰ θεραπείας ἀκριβοῦς ἐδεῖτο, καὶ ἐδεδίει μή, οἰα ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, ἐπιβουλευθῆ (βραχὺ γάρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν τὸν θώρακα, δν ὑπὸ τῆ στολῆ πολλάκις καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέ-

δριον ἐστὰν εἶχεν, ἐπικουρήσειν οἱ ἐνόμιζε), πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ ἔεκέτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ῆν, προσέβετο (ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλων ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο), ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ ᾿Λγρίππα ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἔσου πη ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν

5 ές του αυτου χρόνου έδωκε. τοσαύτα γάρ σφισιν? έτη τότε έπαρκέσειν έφη: υστερον γάρ ου πολλώ

" open R. Steph., open M.

¹ στάνεω: Βκ., στάνιδι Μ. 2 Λειτούλων Βκ., Αεντούλου Μ.

his own expense he brought into the city the water- no. 19 supply known as the Aqua Virgo, and named it the Augusta. The emperor took such great delight in this that once, when there was a great searcity of wine and people were loudly complaining, he deelared that Agrippa had in a most competent manner seen to it that they should never perish of thirst

Such was the character of this man; but others both strove for triumphs and celebrated them, not only for no exploits comparable to his, but merely for arresting robbers or for restoring harmony to cities that were torn by factions strife. For Augustus, at least in the beginning, bestowed these rewards lavishly upon certain men, and those whom he honoured by public funerals were very many. Accordingly, while these men gained lustre through such distinctions, Agrippa was promoted to the supreme power, one might say, by him. For Augustus saw that the public business required strict attention. and feared that he himself might, as often happens to men of his position, fall victim to a plot. (As for the breastplate which he often wore beneath his dress, even when he entered the senate, he believed that it would be of but scanty and slight assistance to him.) He therefore first added five years to his own term as princeps, since his ten-year period was about to expire (this was in the consulship of Publins and ac is Gnaeus Lentulus), and then he granted to Agrippa many privileges almost equal to his own, especially the tribunician power for the same length of time. For that number of years, he said at the time, would be enough for them: though not long afterward he

καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε της αὐτοκράτορος ήγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ώστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὖθις γενέσθαι.

Πράξας δέ ταθτα το Βουλευτικου έξήτασε 18 πολλοί τε γάρ και ως εδόκουν αυτώ είναι (πλήθει δε ούδεν ύγιες ένεώρα?), και δια μίσους σύχ ότι τούς κακία τινί έπιρρήτους, άλλα και τούς 2 κολακεία εκφανείς εποιείτο. και επειδή μήτε τις έκων ώσπερ πρότερον άπηλλάττετο, μήτ' αὐ μόνος έν αίτία τινί γενέσθαι έβούλετο, αὐτός τε τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὅπερ που καὶ ὅρκω έπιστώσατο, έξελέξατο, και έκείνους έκέλευσε προομόσαντας τον αυτον όρκου κατά πέντε, πλην τών συγγενών, ές πινάκια γράψαντας έλέσθαι. 3 και μετά τούτο τὰς πεμπάδας ἐκλήρωσεν, ώσθ' ένα καθ' έκάστην τον λαχόντα αὐτόν τε βουλεῦσαι καὶ ἐτέρους πέντε ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγγράψαι. ἔδει που και τούς τριάκοντα έν τε τοίς αίρουμένοις ύπο των έτέρων και έν τοις κληρουμένοις γενέσθαι. έπειδή τέ τινες αυτών απεδήμουν, άλλοι αντ' έκείνων λαγώντες τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά σφισιν ἔπραξαν. 4 το μέν ούν πρώτον ταθθ ούτως έπι πλείους ήμέρας εγένετο επεί δε εκακουργήθη τινά, ούτε έπὶ τοις ταμίαις τὰ γραμματεία έτ' ἐποιήσατο ούτε έτι τῷ κλήρω τὰς πεμπάδας ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε τὰ λοιπά ἀνελέξατο καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ένδέοντας προσείλετο, ώστε ές έξακοσίους τούς 14 πάντας ἀποδειχθήναι. έβουλεύσατο μέν γάρ τρια-

bed rie Cappa, bo' M.

[·] άλλο πέντε Rk., πέντε άλλο Reim., πολλά Μ. · ἐνεώρο Rk., ἐώρο Μ. · · που Pflugh, τω Μ.

BOOK LIV

obtained the other five years of his imperial power in ac is addition, so that the total number became ten again.

When he had done this, he purged the senatorial body. For the members seemed to him to be too numerous even now, and he saw nothing good in a large throng; moreover, he hated not only those who were notorious for some baseness, but also those who were conspicuous for their flattery. And when, as on the previous occasion,1 no one would resign of his own free will, and Augustus, in his turn, did not wish to incur blame alone, he himself selected the thirty best men (a point which he afterwards confirmed by oath) and bade them, after first taking the same oath, choose five at a time, relatives not to be included, by writing the names on tablets. After this he made the groups of five cast lots, with the arrangement that the one man in each group who drew the lot should be a senator himself and should write down five other names according to the same plan. The original thirty, of course, were to be included among those who were available for selection by the second thirty and for the drawing of lots. And since some who were chosen were out of town, others were drawn in their place and discharged the duties that belonged to them. first all this went on for several days in the way described; but when various abuses crept in, Augustus no longer entrusted the lists to the quaestors and no longer submitted the groups of five to the lot, but he himself thenceforth made the selection and himself chose the senators who were still quired in order to make the number of men appointed six hundred in all. It had, indeed, been his

κοσίους αὐτούς κατά τὸ ἀργαίου ποιήσαι, καὶ πάνυ άγαπητον νομίζων είναι τοσούτους άξίους τοῦ συνεδρίου σφών ευρεθήναι δυσχερανάντων δε πάντων όμοίως (τώ γάρ πολύ πλείους τών έμμενούντων έν αυτώ τους διαγραφησομένους έσεσθαι. φοβείσθαι μάλλον αύτους μη ίδιωτεύσωσιν ή προσδοκάν ότι και βουλεύσουσιν συνέβαινε) τους 2 έξακοσίους κατελέξατο. και ούδε ένταύθα έστη, άλλα και μετά τούτο, έπειδή τινες ούκ έπιτήδειοι καί τότε έγγεγραμμένοι ήσαν, και Δικίνιός τέ τις Ρήγουλος, άγανακτήσας ότι του τε νίέος και άλλων πολλών, ων κρείσσων είναι ήξίου, διειλεγμένων άπαλήλιπτο, τήν τε ἐσθήτα ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ 3 βουλευτηρίω κατερρήξατο, και το σωμα γυμνώσας τάς τε στρατείας κατηριθμήσατο και τάς ούλάς προσεπέδειξέ σφισι, καὶ 'Αρτικυλέιος' Παίτος' έν μέν τοις βουλεύσουσιν ων τω δε δη πατρί έκπεπτωκότι παραχωρήσαι της βουλείας άξιων ικέτευεν, έξετασμον αδθίς σφων εποιήσατο, καί 4 τινας άπαλλάξας άλλους άντικατέλεξεν. έπειδή τε πολλοί και ως διεγεγράφατο, και τινες αυτόν δι' αίτίας, ' οία έν τω τοιούτω φιλεί συμβαίνειν, ώς και άδικως άπεληλαμένοι είχου, τότε τε αυτοίς και συνθεάσασθαι και συνεστιάσασθαι τοις βουλεύουσι, τῆ αὐτῆ σκευῆ χρωμένοις, συνεγώρησε, και ές το έπειτα τας άργας αίτειν έπέ-5 τρεψε. και αύτων οι μεν πλείους έπανηλθον

i de supplied by R. Steph.

² Aprinohim Cary, Aprinohim M.

⁵ Пайтов Вк., тетов М.

abrar he cirias Bk., correr cirias M.

plan to limit the senators to three hundred, as in ac. is the early times, and he thought he ought to be well content if that number of men were found who were worthy of the senate. But the number he actually enrolled was six hundred, since all alike were displeased with the other arrangement; for it turned out that those whose names would be stricken off the roll would be much more numerous than those who kept their places, so that the present senators were more afraid of being reduced to the ranks than hopeful of being in the new senate. Indeed, he did not stop even when this was done, but subsequently took other measures. It seems that certain unsuitable persons were even then found on the lists; and one Licinius Regulus, indignant because his name had been erased, whereas his son and several others to whom he thought himself superior had been selected by the lot, rent his clothing in the very senate, laid bare his body, enumerated his campaigns, and showed them his sears; and Articuleius Paetus, one of those who were to remain senators, carnestly begged that he might retire from his seat in the senate in favour of his father, who had been rejected. Consequently Augustus purged the senate again, removing some and choosing others in their places. And since, even so, the names of many had been stricken out, and some of them, as usually happens in such a case, found fault with him on the ground that they had been unjustly expelled, he at that time accorded them the right to attend spectacles and celebrate festivals along with the senators, wearing the same garb as they, and for the future he allowed them to stand for the various offices. The majority of them came back in the course of time into the senate;

317

γρόνω ές το συνέδριον, ολίγοι δέ τινες έν τῷ μέσω, μήτε της γερουσίας μήτε του δήμου νομιζόμενοι,

κατελείφθησας.

Τούτων ούν ούτω γενομένων συχνοί μεν εύθύς συχνοί δὲ καὶ μετά τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνω καὶ τῶ 'Αγρίππα έπιβουλεύσαι, είτ' οὐν άληθώς είτε καὶ

- 2 ψευδώς, αίτίαν έσχου. ου γάρ έστιν άκριβώς τὰ τοιαύτα τοίς έξω αὐτών ούσιν είδέναι πολλά γάρ ων αν ο κρατών προς τιμωρίαν, ως και έπιβεβουλευμένος, ήτοι δι έαυτοῦ ή καὶ διὰ τῆς γερουσίας πράξη, υποπτεύεται κατ' ἐπήρειαν, κῶν ὅτι μά-
- 3 λιστα δικαιότατα συμβή, γεγονέναι. καὶ διὰ τούτο και έγω γνώμην έχω περί πάντων τών τοιουτοτρόπων αυτά τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μηδέν ύπερ τα δεδημοσιευμένα, πλην τών πάνυ φανερών, μήτε πολυπραγμονών μήθ υπολέγων, μήτ' εί δικαίως μήτ' εί άδικως τι γέγουε, μήτ' εί
- 4 ψευδώς μήτε εί άληθώς είρηται, καὶ τοῦτο μέν μοι καὶ κατά τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων είρησθω εν δε δη τω τότε παρόντι ο Αύγουστος άλλους μέν τινας έδικαίωσε, τον δε δη Λέπιδον έμίσει μέν διά τε τάλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ νίος αὐτοῦ καὶ έπεφώρατο επιβουλεύων αυτώ και εκεκόλαστο, ου μέντοι και άποκτείναι ήθέλησεν, άλλ' έν τρόπω
- α τινὶ άλλοτε άλλω προεπηλάκιζεν. Ες τε γάρ την πόλιν και άκοντα αύτον έκ τίον άγρών κατιέναι έκέλευε, καὶ ές τὰς συνόδους ἀεὶ ἐσῆγεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστην και χλευασίαν και ύβριν πρός τε την

і баль R. Steph., бало М.

BOOK LIV

but some few were left in an intermediate position, we is being regarded as belonging neither to the senate

nor to the people.

After these events, many immediately and many later were accused, whether truly or falsely, of plotting against both the emperor and Agrippa. It is not possible, of course, for those on the outside to have certain knowledge of such matters; for whatever measures a ruler takes, either personally or through the senate, for the punishment of men for alleged plots against himself, are generally looked upon with suspicion as having been done out of spite, no matter how just such measures may be. For this reason it is my purpose to report in all such eases simply the recorded version of the affair, without busying myself with anything beyond the published account, except in perfectly patent cases, or giving a hint as to the justice or injustice of the act or as to the truth or falsity of the report. Let this explanation apply also to everything that I shall write hereafter. As for the time of which we are speaking. Augustus executed a few men; in the case of Lepidus, however, although he hated the man, among other reasons, because his son had been detected in a plot against him and had been punished, yet he did not wish to put him to death, but kept subjecting him to insult from time to time in various ways. Thus he would order him to come back to the city from his estate in the country,1 whether he wished to do so or not, and would always take him to the meetings of the senate, in order that he might be subjected to the utmost to jeering and

της ίσχύος και πρός την της άξιώσεως μεταβολήν όφλισκάνη και ούτε ές άλλο τι ώς και άξίω οί λόγου έχρητο, τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν ψηφον ὑστάτω τῶν 6 υπατευκότων έπηγε. τους μέν γάρ άλλους έν τη καθηκούση τάξει έπεψήφιζε, των δ' υπατευκότων πρωτόν τέ τινα καὶ δεύτερον τρίτον τε έτερον καὶ τέταρτου, τούς τε λοιπούς όμοίως, ώς που καί έβούλετο και τούτο και οι ύπατοι έποιουν, ούτω 7 μεν δή τον Λέπιδον μετεχειρίζετο, και επειδή γε Αυτίστιος Λαβεών ές τους Βουλεύσοντας αυτόν. ότε ή διαγνώμη² έκείνη εγίγνετο, εσεγράθατο. πρώτον μέν έπιωρκηκέναι τε αὐτον έφη καὶ τιμωρήσεσθαι ήπείλησεν, έπειτα δε εἰπόντας αὐτοῦ " καὶ τι δεινον πεποίηκα κατασχών έν τω συνεδρίω ἄνδρα δυ σύ άρχιέρεων έτι και νύν περιοράς s δυτα:" οὐκέτ' οὐδεμίαν δρηήν ἐποιήσατο πολλάκις γάρ καὶ ίδία καὶ κοινή τής ιερωσύνης ταύτης άξιούμενος ούκ έδικαίωσε ζώντος του Λεπίδου λαβείν αυτήν. 'Αντίστιος μέν ουν τουτό τε ούκ άπο καιρού είπειν έδοξε, και ποτε λόγων έν τη βουλή γιγνομένων ώς χρεών είη του Λύγουστον έκ διαδοχής σφας φρουρείν, έφη, μήτ' άντενπείν τολμών μήτε συγκαταθέσθαι υπομένων, ότι " ρέγκω καὶ οὐ δύναμαι αὐτοῦ προκοιτήσαι."

16 'Ο δ' οὖν Αύγουστος ἄλλα τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐς

[·] Βουλεύσονται R. Steph., Βουλεύσονται Μ. · δτι ή διαγνώμη Rk., δτι Ιδίαι γνώμηι Μ.

BOOK LIV

insults, so that he might realize his loss of power ac is and dignity. In general he did not treat him as worthy of any consideration on his part, and on the occasions referred to called on him for his vote the last of all the ex-consuls. For while he was wont to put the vote to the other senators in the regular order, in the case of the ex-consuls he used to call on one first, another second, and others third and fourth, and so on, just as he pleased; and the consuls also did the same. Thus it was that he used to treat Lepidus. And when Antistins Labeo wrote down the name of Lepidus among those who might be senators, at the time when the process of selection which we have described was being followed, the emperor first declared that he had perjured himself.1 and he threatened to punish him. Thereupon Labeo replied; "Why, what barm have I done by keeping in the senate one whom you even now permit to be high priest?" At this Augustus desisted from his anger; for though he had often been asked, both privately and publicly, to take this priesthood, he did not feel that it was right to do so while Lepidus lived.2 This reply of Antistius was regarded as a happy one, as was also another remark of his: when it was said in the senate, on one occasion, that the senators ought to take turns in guarding Augustus, Antistius, not daring to speak in opposition nor yet willing to assent, remarked, " As for me, I snore, and so cannot sleep at the door of his chamber."

Among the laws that Augustus enacted was one which provided that those who had bribed anyone in order to gain office should be debarred from office for

Cf. xlix, 15, 3, and chap, 27, 2 inf.

321

¹ Presumably because of the oath the thirty men had taken that they would select the best men.

πέντε έτη αὐτῶν εἰρξε.¹ τοῖς τε ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς ἀνάνδροις βαρύτερα τὰ ἐπιτίμια ἐπέταξε, καὶ ἔμπαλιν τοῦ τε γάμου καὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἄθλα ² ἔθηκεν. ἐπειδή τε πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἄγεσθαι, ἔννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἰναι κελεύσας.

3 Κάν τούτω καταβοήσεως εν τῷ συνεδρίω περί τε τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεανίσκων ἀκοσμίας, πρὸς ἀπολογίαν δή τινα τοῦ μὴ ραδίως δι αὐτὴν τὰς τῶν γάμων συναλλαγὰς ποιεῖσθαι, γενομένης, καὶ ἐναγόντων αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπανορθῶσαι χλευασμῷ ὅτι πολλαῖς γυναιξὶν ἐχρῆτο.
4 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὰ μὲν

ἀναγκαιότατα διώρισται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀδύνατὸν ἐστιν ὁμοίως παραδοθήναι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκβιασθεὶς εἰπεν ὅτι "αὐτοὶ ὀφείλετε ταῖς γαμεταῖς καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ κελεύειν ὅσα βούλεσθε ὅπερ που ὁ καὶ ἐγὼ ποιῶ." ἀκούσαντες οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο αὐτῷ. βουλόμενοι τὰς παραινέσεις ᾶς τῷ Λιουία παραινεῖν ἔφη μαθεῖν. καὶ δς ἄκων μέν, εἰπε δ' οὖν τινα καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ κόσμου τῶν τε ἐξόδων καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης αὐτῶν, μηδ' ὁτιοῦν φροντίσας ὅτι μὴ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ αὐτὰ ἐπιστοῦτο.

6 καὶ ἔτερον δέ τι τοιόνδε τιμητεύων ἐπεποιήκει ἐπειδή γὰρ προσήγαγέ τις αὐτῷ νεανίσκον γυναῖκα ἐκ μοιχείας γεγαμηκότα, καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα κατη-

aloge B. Steph., elege M.

³ китавойовых R. Steph., катеворове М.

BOOK LIV

five years. He laid heavier assessments upon the me, is unmarried men and upon the women without husbands, and on the other hand offered prizes for marriage and the begetting of children. And since among the nobility there were far more males than females, he allowed all who wished, except the senators, to marry freedwomen, and ordered that

their offspring should be held legitimate.

Meanwhile a clamor arose in the senate over the disorderly conduct of the women and of the young men, this being alleged as a reason for their reluctance to enter into the marriage relation; and when they urged him to remedy this abuse also, with ironical allusions to his own intimacy with many women, he at first replied that the most necessary restrictions had been laid down and that anything further could not possibly be regulated by decree in similar fashion. Then, when he was driven into a corner, he said: "You yourselves ought to admonish and command your wives as you wish; that is what I do." When they heard that, they plied him with questions all the more, wishing to learn what the admonitions were which he professed to give Livia. He accordingly, though with reluctance, made a few remarks about women's dress and their other adornment, about their going out and their modest behaviour, not in the least concerned that his actions did not lend credence to his words. Another instance of such inconsistency had occurred while he was censor. Some one brought before him a young man who had taken as his wife a married woman with whom he had previously committed adultery. and made ever so many accusations against the

γόρησεν αὐτοῦ, διηπορήθη μήτε παριδείν τὸ πρᾶγμα μήτ' ἐπιτιμῆσαί τι τολμήσας, καὶ μόλις ιποτὲ οψὲ ἀνενεγκῶν "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ δεινὰ αἱ στάσεις ἤνεγκαν, ὥστε ἐκείνων μὲν ἀμνημονῶμεν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ προνοῶμεν ὅπως μηδὲν τοιτοῦτο γίγνηται." ὡς δ' οὖν βρέφη τινὲς ἐγγυώμενοι τὰς μὲν τιμὰς τῶν γεγαμηκότων ἐκαρποῦντο, τὸ δὲ ἔργον αὐτῶν οὐ παρείχοντο, προσέταξε μηδεμίαν ἐγγύην ἰσχύειν μεθ' ἡν οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν διελθόντων γαμήσει τις, τοῦτ' ἔστι δεκέτιν πάντως ἐγγυᾶσθαι τόν γέ τι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπολαύσοντα δωδεκα γὰρ ταῖς κόραις ἐς τὴν τοῦ γώμου ὥραν ἔτη πλήρη, καθάπερ εἶπον, νομίζεται.

17 Ταῦτά τε οὖν ὡς ἔκαστα διενομοθέτει, καὶ ἵνα ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ σίτου διαδόσει προβάλλωνται οἱ ἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀεὶ ὄντες ἔνα ἔκαστος ἱ ἐκ τῶν πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσ-2 σαρες οἱ λαχόντες αιτοδοτῶσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τόν τε πολίαρχον τὸν ἐς τὰς ἀνοχὰς καθιστάμενον ἔνα ἀεὶ αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σιβύλλεια ἐξίτηλα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότα τοὺς ἰερέας αὐτοχειρία ἐκγράψασθαι ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτερος

* yas supplied by R. Steph, * Fragres Reim., Fragres M.

¹ udies Pflugh, uditora M.

⁷ yantises Zon., 7antises M.

Cf. note on lili. 13, 2,

Apparently in a lost portion of his work.

man, and Augustus was at a loss what to do, not ac 16 daring to overlook the affair nor yet to administer any rebuke. At length, though with difficulty, he recovered himself and said: "Our factious quarrels have borne many terrible fruits; let us, then, forget them and give our attention to the future, that nothing of the sort may occur again." Inasmuch. too, as certain men were betrothing themselves to infant girls and thus enjoying the privileges granted to married men.1 but without rendering the service expected of them, he ordered that no betrothal should be valid if the man did not marry within two years of such betrothal,-that is, that the girl must in every case be at least ten years old at her betrothal if the man was to derive any advantages from it, since, as I have stated,2 girls are held to have reached the marriageable age on the completion of twelve full years.

Besides these several enactments, Augustus further provided that, for the distribution of grain, one candidate, who must have served as practor three years previously, should be nominated each year by each of the officials then serving, and that, from these nominees, four men should be chosen by lot to serve in succession as distributors of grain. And he commanded that the office of prefect of the city, who was chosen for the Feriae, should always be filled by the election of one man, and that the Sibylline verses, which had become indistinct through lapse of time, should be copied off by the priests with their own hands, in order that no one

See note on chap 6; and cf. xli. 14, 4, and xlix. 16, 2.

³ Suctonine (Aug. 37) names among the new offices established by Augustus the "curum , , , framenti popula dividuadi."

3 αυτά άναλέξηται. τάς τε άρχας απασι τοις δέκα μυριάδων ούσίαν έχουσι και άρχειν έκ τών νόμων δυναμένοις έπαγγέλλειν επέτρεψε. τοσούτον γαρ το βουλευτικου τίμημα την πρώτην είναι έταξεν. έπειτα και ές πέντε και είκοσι μυριάδας αὐτό προήγαγε, και τισι των ευ βιούντων ελάττω, τότε μεν των δέκα, αθθις δε των πέντε και είκοσι.

4 κεκτημένοις 1 έχαρίσατο όσου ένέδει. και διά ταύτα τοῦς βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλά. σιον του παρά του δημοσίου σφίσιν ές τάς πανηγύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν εφήκεν. ώστε εί και πρός την άκριβειαν των άλλων αυτού νομοθετημάτων ήχθοντό τινες, άλλ' ύπό τε τούτου, και ότι Πυλάδην τινά ορχηστήν δια στάσιν έξεληλαμένου κατήγαγεν, ούκετ' εκείνων εμέμνηντο. 5 δθενπερ πάνυ σοφώς ο Πυλάδης, επιτεμώμενος

ύπ' αύτου έπειδη Βαθύλλω όμοτέχνω τέ οί όντι και τῷ Μαικήνα προσήκοντι διεστασίαζεν, είπεῖν λέγεται ότι " συμφέρει σοι, Καϊσαρ, περί ήμας

τον δήμον αποδιατρίβεσθαι."

18 Ταθτα μέν έν έκείνω τω έτει εγένετο έπι δε δη Γαίου τε Φουρνίου και Γαίου Σιλανού υπάτων υίου αύθις ο Αγρίππας άνείλετο του Λούκιου ονομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ο Αύγουστος μετὰ του άδελφου του Γαίου εποιήσατο, μη άναμείνας σφας ανδρωθήναι, αλλ' αὐτόθεν διαδόχους της 2 αρχής αποδείξας, ϊν ήττον ἐπιβουλεύηται. τήν τε της Τιμής και της 'Αρετής πανήγυριν ές τας νου ήμέρας μετέστησε, και τοις τα επινίκια πέμπουσιν έργον έκ τών λαφύρων ές την τών πράξεων.

¹ кенториброго Вк., кенторибоно М. 2 Tatov Bk., Too yatov M.

else might read them. He permitted all to stand ac 15 for office who possessed property worth four hundred thousand sesterces and were eligible by the laws to hold office. This was the senatorial rating which he at first established; but later he raised it to one million sesterces. Upon some of those who lived upright lives but possessed less than the four hundred thousand sesterces in the first instance, or the million in the second, he bestowed the amount lacking. And because of this he allowed the practors who so desired to spend on the public festivals three times the amount granted them from the treasury. Thus, even if some were vexed at the strictness of his other regulations, yet by reason of this action and also because he restored one Pylades, a dancer, who had been exiled on account of sedition, they remembered them no longer. Hence Pylades is said to have rejoined very eleverly, when the emperor rebaked him for having quarrelled with Bathyllus, a fellow-artist and a favourite of Maecenas 1: "It is to your advantage, Caesar, that the people should devote their spare time to us."

These were the occurrences of that year. In the LC, IT consulship of Gaius Furnius and Gaius Silanus, Agrippa again acknowledged the birth of a son, who was named Lucius; and Augustus immediately adopted him together with his brother Gaius, not waiting for them to become men, but appointing them then and there successors to his office, in order that fewer plots might be formed against him. He transferred the festival of Honor and Virtus to the days which are at present theirs, commanded those who celebrated triumphs to erect out of their

¹ Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 54.

μνήμην ποιείν προσέταξε, τά τε σαικουλάρια τὰ πέμπτα ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἀμισθὶ¹ συναγορεύειν, ἡ τετραπλάσιον ὅσον ἀν λάβωσιν ὁ ἐκτίνειν, ἐκέλευσε. τοῖς δὲ δικάζειν ἀεὶ λαγχάνουσιν ἀπείπεν ἐς μηδενὸς οίκαδε τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐσιέναι. ἐπειδή τε ἀσπουδεὶ οί ε βουλευταὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συνεφοίτων, ἐπηύξησε τὰς ζημίας τοῖς οὐκ ἐξ εὐλόγου τινὸς αἰτίας ὑστερίζουσι.

19 Καὶ μετά ταθτα ές την Γαλατίαν, Λουκίου τε Δομιτίου καὶ Πουπλίου Σκιπίωνος υπατευόντων, ώρμησε, πρόφασιν τους πολέμους τους κατ έκεινο 2 κινηθέντας λαβών. ἐπειδη γάρ ἐπαχθης πολλοίς έκ της έν τη πόλει χρονίου διατριβής έγεγόνει, και συχνούς μέν έξω τι των τεταγμένων πράττοντας δικαιών ελύπει, συχνών δε και φειδόμενος τὰ νενομοθετημένα ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ παραβαίνειν ἡνα-γκάζετο, ἐκδημῆσαι τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα 3 έγνω. και τινες και διά την Τερεντίαν την του Μαικήνου γυναίκα άποδημήσαι αυτον υπετόπησαν, εν ἐπειδή πολλά περί αυτών ἐν τη Ῥώμη έλογοποιείτο, άνευ θρού τινός έν τη άλλοδημία αύτη συνή ούτω γάρ ούν πάνυ αύτης ήρα ώστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαί ποτε αὐτην περὶ τοῦ κάλλους 4 πρός την Λιουίαν ποιήσαι. πρίν δε ή άφορμασθαι, τον του Κυρίνου ναον καθιέρωσεν έκ καινής

σθαί, τον του Κυρίνου ναὸν καθιέρωσεν ἐκ καινῆς οἰκοδομήσας. εἶπον δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα κίσσιν αὐτὸν ἐκόσμησεν, ὅσαπερ τὰ πάντα ἔτη ὁ διεβίω, κἰκ τούτου λόγον τισὶ παρέσχεν ὡς καὶ ἔξεπίτηδες αὐτὸ ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως ὁ πράξας. ἐκεῖνόν τε οὖν τότε ἐθείωσε, καὶ μονο-

¹ dancel St., dancel M. e of supplied by Rk.

spoils some monument to commemorate their deeds, as it and held the fifth celebration of the Ludi Sacculares. He ordered the orators to give their services as advocates without pay, on pain of a fine of four times the amount they received; and he forbade those who were drawn as jurymen from time to time to enter any person's house during their year of service. And since the members of the senate showed a lack of interest in attending its sessions, he increased the fines for those who were late with-

out a good excuse.

Next he set out for Gaul, during the consulship ac 16 of Lucius Domitius and Publius Scipio, making the wars that had arisen in that region his excuse. For since he had become disliked by many as a result of his long stay in the capital, and now was offending many who committed some act contrary to his decrees by the punishments he was inflicting, and at the same time, by sparing many others, was being compelled to transgress his own enactments, he decided to leave the country, somewhat after the manner of Solon. Some even suspected that he had gone away on account of Terentia, the wife of Maccenas, and intended, inasmuch as there was much talk about them in Rome, to live with her abroad free from all gossip. So great, indeed, was his passion for her that he once made her enter a contest of beauty against Livia. Before setting out he dedicated the temple of Quirinus, which he had rebuilt. I mention this for the reason that he adorned it with seventy-six columns, which was the exact number of the years he lived, and thus caused some to declare that he had chosen this number deliberately and not by mere chance. So he dedicated this temple at that time, and also exhibited

μαχίας άγωνας διά τε τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ διὰ τοῦ Δρούσου, συγχωρηθέν δή σφισιν ύπο τῆς βουλῆς,

- δ έθηκε. καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρω μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε γὰρ ᾿Αγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μαικήνα διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκέθ ὁμοίως ἔχαιρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καίτοι στρατηγοῦντα παραλαβὼν ἔξώρμησεν. ἐστρατήγησε γὰρ καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικάς τιμὰς ἔχων καὶ τήν γε ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ὁ Δροῦσος ἐκ δόγματος διήγαγεν.
- 7 ἐξελθόντων δ' οὖν αὐτῶν τὸ τῆς Νεότητος μέγαρον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα κατεκαύθη, καὶ διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τᾶλλα τὰ προγενόμενα (λύκος τε γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσπεσῶν ἄνθρώπους ἔφθειρε, καὶ μύρμηκες οὐ ¹ πόρρω τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκφανέστατα ² συνεστράφησαν, λαμπάς τέ τις ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἡνέχθη) εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ

8 Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο, κὰν τούτφ καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρτασαν, τοῦ ᾿Αγρίππου (ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν, οἰς ἐκ τῆς περιτροπῆς ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῆς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἱέρωτο) διὰ τῶν συνιερέων ἀναλώσαντος.

20 Πολλά μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους ἐταράχθη, καὶ γὰρ Καμμούνιοι καὶ Οὐ-έννιοι, 'Αλπικὰ γένη, ὅπλα τε ἀντήραντο καὶ νικηθέντες ὑπὸ Πουπλίου Σιλίου ἐχειρώθησαν-2 καὶ οἰ Παννόνιοι τήν τε 'Ιστρίαν μετὰ Νωρίκων

ob supplied by Leunel. Apparierara M, Luparierara V.

gladiatorial combats, Tiberius and Drusus represent- a.c. to ing him in the matter after the senate had granted them permission. Then he committed to Taurus the management of the city together with the rest of Italy (for he had sent Agrippa again to Syria and no longer looked with equal favour upon Maccenas because of the latter's wife), and taking Tiberius. though practor at the time, along with him, he set out on his journey. Tiberius, it appears, had become practor in spite of his already holding the rank of a practor; and Drusus now performed all the duties of his office in pursuance of a decree. The night following their departure the temple of Inventus1 was burned to the ground. Other portents also had occurred; a wolf had rushed into the Forum by the Sacred Way and had killed people, and not far from the Forum ants were conspicuously swarming together; moreover, a flame like a torch had shot from the south towards the north all night long. Because of all these signs prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. Meanwhile they held the quadrennial celebration of his sovereignty, Agrippa, represented by his fellow-priests, bearing the expense; for he had been consecrated as one of the quindecimviri, upon whom the management of the festival devolved in regular succession.

There were many other disturbances, too, during that period. The Camunni and Vennii, Alpine tribes, took up arms against the Romans, but were conquered and subdued by Publins Silius. The Pannonians in company with the Norici overran

¹ Acides Inventutis.

Other forms of this name are Vennones, Vennontes, and Venostes.

κατέδραμον, καὶ αὐτοί τε πρός τε τοῦ Σιλίου καὶ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων αὐτοῦ κακωθέντες αὖθις ὡμο-λόγησαν, καὶ τοῖς Νωρίκοις αἰτιοι τῆς αὐτῆς δουλείος ἐκέμωντο. Τά τε ἐν πο λολοκοίς αὐτῆς

3 δουλείας εγένοντο. Τά τε έν τῆ Δελματία και τὰ έν τῆ Ἡβηρία νεοχμώσαντα δι ὀλύγου κατέστη, και ἡ Μακεδονία ὑπό τε τῶν Δενθελητῶν και ὑπὸ τῶν Σκορδίσκων ἐπορθήθη. ἔν τε τῆ Θράκη πρότερον μεν Μάρκος Λόλλιος Ῥυμητάλκη ὑθέω τε τῶν τοῦ Κότυος παίδων και ἐπιτρόπω ὄντι βοηθῶν Βησσοὺς κατεστρέψατο, ἔπειτα δὲ Λούκιος Γάιος Σαυρομάτας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας κρατήσας ὑπὲρ

4 τον Ιστρον ἀπεώσατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τῶν τότε συμβάντων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμων, ὅσπερ που καὶ τὸν Αὐγουστον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε, πρὸς τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐγένετο. Σύγαμβροί τε γὰρ καὶ Οὐσιπέται καὶ Τέγκτηροι* τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῷ σφετέρο τινὰς αὐτῶν συλλαβόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν.

δ έπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν 'Ρῆνον διαβάντες τήν τε Γερμανίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐλεηλάτησαν, τό τε ἱππικὸν τὸ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπελθόν σφισιν ἐνήδρευσαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τῷ τε Λολλίῳ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ

6 ενίκησαν και έκεινον. μαθών οθν ταθτα ο Αυγουστος ώρμησε μεν επ αυτούς, ου μέντοι και εργον τι πολέμου έσχεν· οι γάρ βάρβαροι τόν τε Λόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον και έκεινον στρατεύσντα πυθόμενοι ές τε την έαυτών άνεχώρησαν και σπονδάς έποιήσαντο, ομήρους δόντες.

21 Των μεν ούν όπλων οὐδεν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Αύγουστος εδεήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα καθιστάμενος τοῦτόν

^{1 &#}x27;Pountakan R. Steph., βαμητάλαη: VM (inti 'Pountakan: elsewhere).

2 Τέγκτηρο: R. Steph., τέγκρητοι VM.

Istria: but the former, upon being discomfited by ac is Silius and his lieutenants, both came to terms again themselves and caused the Norici to be subjected to the same slavery. The uprisings in Dalmatia and in Spain were quelled in a short time. Macedonia was ravaged by the Dentheleti and the Scordisci. In Thrace somewhat earlier Marcus Lollius, while aiding Rhoemetalces, the uncle and guardian of the sons of Cotys, had subjugated the Bessi. Later Lucius Gallus conquered the Sarmatians for the same reason and drove them back across the Ister. The greatest, however, of the wars which at that time fell to the lot of the Romans, and the one presumably which drew Augustus away from the city, was that against the Germans. It seems that the Sugambri, Usipetes, and Teneteri had first seized in their own territory some of the Romans and had crucified them, after which they had crossed the Rhine and plundered Germania and Gaul. When the Roman cavalry approached, they surprised themfrom ambush; then, pursuing them as they fled, they fell in unexpectedly with Lollius, the governor of the province, and conquered him also. On learning of all this, Augustus hastened against them, but found no warfare to carry on; for the barbarians, learning that Lollius was making preparations and that the emperor was also taking the field, retired into their own territory and made peace, giving hostages.

For this reason Augustus had no need of arms, but in arranging other matters he consumed the

τε τον ένιαυτον κατανάλωσε και τον ύστερον, έν ο Μάρκος τε Λίβων και Καλπούρνιος Πίσων υπύτευσαν, πολλά μέν και και ίπο πόν Καλπον

2 υπάτευσαν. πολλά μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν, πολλά δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Λικινίου τινὸς ἐπεπόνηντο. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦθ ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ κῆτός σφισι προσημῆναι: πλάτος μὲν γὰρ ποδῶν εἴκοσι μῆκος δὲ τριπλάσιον ἔχον, καὶ γυναικὶ πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐσικός, ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐαυτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξώκει-

3 λεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Λικίνιος τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον Γαλάτης ἡν, άλοὺς δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ δουλεύσας τῷ Καίσαρι ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνου ἡλευθερώθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Λυγούστου ἐπίτροπος τῆς Γαλατίας κατέστη.

4 οὐτος οὐν πλεονεξία μὲν βαρβαρικῆ ἀξιώσει δὲ Ρωμαϊκῆ χρώμενος, πᾶν μὲν το κρεῖττόν ποτε αὐτοῦ νομισθὲν καθήρει, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἰσχυρὸν ἡφάνιζε, καὶ συχνὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς προστεταγμένης οἱ διακονίας ἐξεπόριζε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἐαυτῷ τοῦς τε οἰκείοις παρεξ-

5 έλεγε. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε κακοτροπίας ἐχώρησεν ώστε, ἐπειδή τινες ἐσφοραὶ κατὰ μῆνα παραυτοῖς ἐγύγνοντο, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα αὐτοῦς * ποιῆσαι, λέγων τὸν μῆνα τοῦτον τὸν Δεκέμβριον καλούμενον δέκατον ὄντως εἰναι, καὶ δεὶν διὰ τοῦτα αὐτοῦς καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ὑστάτους, ἀν τὸν μὲν ἐνδέκατον τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον ἀνόμαζε, νομίζειν, καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς ἐσφέρειν.

6 διὰ μεν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ σοφίσματα ἐκινδύνευσεν οἱ γὰρ Γαλάται τοῦ Αὐγούστου λαβόμενοι δεινὰ

Accorder Xiph., Accorder VM (and similarly just below).

al M coal. Pair., averagera V.

^{*} abrebs Reim., abrè V. abrès M cod. Peir., robs pipus Xiph. * bordrous Dind., abyovorous VM cod. Peir.

ROOK LIV

whole of this year, as well as the next, in which ac is Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso were consuls. For not only had the Gauls suffered much at the hands of the Germans, but much also at the hands of a certain Licinus.1 And of this, I think, the sea-monster had given them full warning beforehand; twenty feet broad and three times as long, and resembling a woman except for its head, it had come in from the ocean and become stranded on the shore. Now Licinus was originally a Gaul, but after being captured by the Romans and becoming a slave of Caesar's, he had been set free by him, and by Augustus had been made procurator of Gaul. This man, then, with his combination of barbarian avarice and Roman dignity, tried to overthrow every one who was ever counted superior to him and to destroy every one who was strong for the time being. He not only supplied himself with plenty of funds for the requirements of the office to which he had been assigned, but also incidentally collected plenty for himself and for his friends. His knavery went so far that in some cases where the people paid their tribute by the month he made the months fourteen in number, declaring that the month called December was really the tenth, and for that reason they must reckon two more (which he called the eleventh and the twelfth ? respectively) as the last, and contribute the money that was due for these months. It was these quibbles that brought him into danger; for the Ganls secured the ear of Augustus and protested indignantly, so that the

Beaker plausibly suggested EreariaBuer and AustriaBper.

i.e. Undecember and Duodecember.

Licinus appears to be the proper spelling of the name, although we find Licinius even in some Roman writers.

έποίησαν, ώστε καὶ έκείνον τὰ μέν συνάγθεσθαί! σφισι τὰ δὲ καὶ παραιτείσθαι άγγοείν τέ τινα έλεγε, και προσεποιείτο έτερα μη πιστεύειν, και έστιν α και συνέκρυπτεν, αισγυνόμενος ότι τοιού-7 τω ἐπιτρόπω ἐκέχρητο άλλο δὲ τοιόνδε τι τεγνασήμενος και πάνυ πάντων αυτών κατεγέλασεν. ἐπειδή γὰρ χαλεπώς οἱ τὸν Λύγουστον έγοντα ήσθετο καλ κολασθήσεσθαι έμελλεν, ές τε την ολκίαν αυτον εσήγαγε, καλ πολλούς μέν καλ άργυρίου και χρυσίου θησαυρούς πολλά δέ και 8 τάλλα σωρηδόν συννενημένα 2 αύτω δείξας, " έξεπίτηδες," έφη, "ταύτα, ω δέσποτα, και ύπερ σού και ύπερ των άλλων 'Ρωμαίων ήθροισα, ίνα μή τοσούτων γρημάτων έγκρατείς οι έπιγώριοι άντες άποστώσεν. άμέλει και έτήρησα σοι πάντα αυτά Kal číčovu."

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἰσχὸν ἐκνενευρικώς, ἐσώθη. 22 Δροῦσος δὲ ἐν τούτῷ καὶ Τιβέριος τάδε ἔπραξαν. 'Ραιτοὶ οἰκοῦντες μεταξὺ τοῦ τε Νωρίκου καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας, πρὸς ταῖς 'Αλπεσι ταῖς πρὸς τῆ 'Ιταλία ταῖς Τριδεντίναις, τῆς τε Γαλατίας τῆς προσόρου σφίσι πολλὰ κατέτρεχον καὶ ἐκ τῆς 'Ίταλίας' ἀρπαγὰς ἐποιοῦντο, τούς τε όδῷ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἡ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς 2 σφετέρας γῆς χρωμένους ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ συνήθη πως τοῖς οὐκ ἐνσπόνδοις ποιεῖν

I good x 8eg8ai Xiph., ax 8eg8ai VM.

έδόκουν, παν δε δή το άρρεν των άλισκομένων, ούν ότι το φαινόμενον άλλα και το έν ταις

overernatea Sylburg, overequates V, overereasures M

¹ Trakias Bk., Irakibas VM.

BOOK LIV

emperor in some matters shared their vexation and per 15 in others tried to excuse Licinus. He claimed to be unaware of some of his extortions and affected not to believe others, while some matters he actually concealed, feeling ashamed to have employed such a procurator. Licinus, however, devised another scheme as follows, and laughed them all to scorn. When he perceived that Augustus was displeased with him and that he was likely to be punished, he brought the emperor into his house, and showing him many treasures of silver and gold and many other valuables piled up in heaps, he said: "I have gathered all this purposely, master, for you and for the rest of the Romans, lest the natives, by having control of so much money, should revolt. At any rate, I have kept it all for you and now give it to YOU."

Thus Licinus was saved, by pretending that he had sapped the strength of the barbarians in order to serve Augustus. Drusus and Tiberius in the meantime were engaged in the following exploits. The Rhaetians, who dwell between Noricum and Gaul, near the Tridentine Alps 1 which adjoin Italy, were overrunning a large part of the neighbouring territory of Gaul and carrying off plunder even from Italy; and they were harassing such of the Romans or their allies as travelled through their country. Now these acts of theirs seemed to be about what was to be expected of nations which had not accepted terms of peace; but they went further and destroyed all the males among their captives, not only those who had already come into the world, but also those who were still in the women's wombs, the sex of

337

¹ The Alps around Tridentum (Trent).

γαστράσιν έτι των γυναικών ον μαντείαις τισίν 3 ἀνευρίσκοντες, έφθειρον. δι οὐν ταῦτα ὁ Αῦγουστος πρώτον μεν του Δρούσον έπ' αύτους έπεμψε καί δς τους προαπαντήσαντάς οι αυτών περί τὰ Τριδεντίνα όρη διὰ ταγέων ετρέψατο, ώστε καὶ τιμὰς στρατηγικὰς ἐπὶ τούτω λαβεῖν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπειδὴ τῆς μὲν Ἱταλίας ἀπεκρούσθησαν, τῆ δὲ δὴ Γαλατία καὶ ὡς ἐνέκειντο, τὸν 4 Τιβέριον προσαπέστειλεν. ἐσβαλόντες 1 οδυ ές την χώραν πολλαγόθεν άμα άμφοτεροι, αυτοί τε καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑποστρατήγων, καὶ ὁ γε Τιβέριος καὶ διά της λίμνης πλοίοις κομισθείς, από τε τούτου κατέπληξαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκάστοις σφίσι συμμιγνύντες, τούς τε αεί ές χείρας αφικνουμένους ού χαλεπώς, άτε διεσπασμέναις ταις δυνάμεσι χρωμένους, κατειργάσαντο, και τούς λοιπούς άσθενεστέρους τε έκ τούτου καὶ άθυμοτέρους γενομένους 5 είλου. ἐπειδή τε ἐπολυάνδρουν καὶ ἐδόκουν τι νεωτεριείν, τό τε κράτιστον και το πλείστον τής ήλικίας αὐτών ἐξήγαγον, καταλιπόντες τοσούτους όσοι την μέν χώραν οίκειν ίκανοί νεοχμώσαι δέ τι αδύνατοι ήσαν.

18 Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῷ ἔτει Οὐήδιος Πωλίων ἀπέθανεν, ἀνὴρ ἄλλως μὲν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον παρασχόμενος (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἀπελευθέρων ² ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰππεῦσιν ἐξητάζετο καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο), ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῷ πλούτῷ τῆ τε ὡμότητι ὀνομαστότατος γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἰστορίας λόγον ἐσελθεῖν. οὖτος γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄσα ἔπραττε, δι ὄχλου ἀν λεγόμενα γένοιτο, μυραίνας

ι Ισβαλόντει Μ. Ισβάλλοντει V.

^{*} arehendépou VM cod. Poir., avenendépou Xiph.

BOOK LIV

whom they discovered by some means of divination. Re 15 For these reasons, then, Augustus first sent against them Drusus, who speedily routed a detachment of them which came to meet him near the Tridentine mountains, and in consequence received the rank of practor. Later, when the Rhaetians had been repulsed from Italy, but were still harassing Gaul, Augustus sent out Tiberius also. Both leaders then invaded Rhaetia at many points at the same time, either in person or through their lieutenants, and Tiberius even crossed the lake 1 with ships. In this way, by encountering them separately, they terrified them and not only easily overwhelmed those with whom they came into close quarters at any time, inasmuch as the barbarians had their forces scattered, but also captured the remainder, who in consequence had become weaker and less spirited. And because the land had a large population of males and seemed likely to revolt, they deported most of the strongest. men of military age, leaving behind only enough to give the country a population, but too few to begin a revolution.

This same year Vedius Pollio died, a man who in general had done nothing deserving of remembrance, as he was sprung from freedmen, belonged to the knights, and had performed no brilliant deeds; but he had become very famous for his wealth and for his cruelty, so that he has even gained a place in history. Most of the things he did it would be wearisome to relate, but I may mention that he kept in reservoirs

¹ The Lacus Venetus (Lago di Carda).

δε δεδιδαγμένας άνθρώπους εσθίειν έν δεξαμεναίς τρέφων τους δούλους αυταίς ους έθανάτου παρέβαλλε. καί ποτε του Λύγουστου έστιων, είτ έπειδή ο οίνογόος κύλικα κρυσταλλίνην κατέαξεν. ές τας μυραίνας αυτύν, μηδέ τον δαιτυμόνα αίδε-3 σθείς, εμβληθήναι προσέταξεν. ὁ οὖν Αύγουστος, προσπεσόντος οι του παιδός και ικετεύσαντος αύτόν, τὰ μὲν πρώτα πείθειν τὸν Πωλίωνα έπειρατο μηδέν τοιούτον δράσαι, ώς δ' ούχ υπήκουσεν αυτώ, " φέρε," έφη, " πάντα τάλλα έκπώματα, όσα² ποτέ τοιουτότροπα ή καὶ ἔτερά τινα 4 έντιμα κέκτησαι, ίνα αὐτοῖς χρήσωμαι." καὶ αύτα κομισθέντα συντριβήναι εκέλευσεν. ίδων δε τουτ εκείνος άλλως μεν ήσχαλλεν, ούτε δε του ένὸς έτι ποτηρίου πρός το πλήθος των άλλων των άπολωλότων οργήν έχων, ούτ αὐ τον διάκονον ών νε και ο Λύγουστος επεποιήκει τιμωρήσασθαι 5 δυνάμενος, ήσυγίαν και άκων ήγαγε. τοιούτος ούν δή τις ο Πωλίων ών έτελεύτησεν άλλοις τε πολλοίς πολλά και τω Αύγούστω του τε κλήρου συγνόν μέρος και του 3 Παυσίλυπου, το χωρίου το μεταξύ της τε Νέας πόλεως και τών Πουτεόλων όν, καταλιπών, τῶ τε δήμω περικαλλές έργον ε οίκοδομηθήναι κελεύσας, ό ούν Αύγουστος την ολκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐς ἔδαφος προφάσει τῆς ἐκείνου κατασκευής, όπως μηδέν μνημόσυνον έν τη πόλει έχη, καταβαλών περίστωον ωκοδομήσατο, και ού

παρίβαλλε cod. Peir. Xiph. Zon., παρίβαλε VM.
 δσα—τῷ κοινῷ (chap. 24, 7) omitted by V, whose archetype I. had lost one folio at this point.
 τὸν Μ Χίρh., τὸ Χyl.

huge lampreys that had been trained to eat men, s.c. 15 and he was accustomed to throw to them such of his slaves as he desired to put to death. Once, when he was entertaining Augustus, his cup-bearer broke a crystal goblet, and without regard for his guest, Pollio ordered the fellow to be thrown to the lampreys. Hereupon the slave fell on his knees before Augustus and supplicated him, and Augustus at first tried to persuade Pollio not to commit so monstrous a deed. Then, when Polito paid no heed to him, the emperor said, " Bring all the rest of the drinking vessels which are of like sort or any others of value that you possess, in order that I may use them," and when they were brought, he ordered them to be broken. When Pollio saw this, he was vexed, of course; but since he was no longer angry over the one goblet, considering the great number of the others that were ruined, and, on the other hand, could not punish his servant for what Augustus also had done, he held his peace, though much against his will. This is the sort of person Pollio was, who died at this time. Among his many bequests to many persons he left to Augustus a good share of his estate together with Pausilypon,1 the place between Neapolis and Putcoli, with instructions that some public work of great beauty should be erected there. Augustus razed Pollio's house to the ground, on the pretext of preparing for the erection of the other structure, but really with the purpose that Pollio should have no monument in the city;

¹ The modern Posilipo, between Naples and Pozzaoli. The Greek name Pausilypon means "grief-assuaging," thus corresponding to such modern names as Sans Souci, Heartscase, etc.

τὸ όνομα τὸ τοῦ Πωλίωνος ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς Λιονίας

επέγραψεν.

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐποίησε, τότε δὲ πόλεις ἔν τε τῆ Γαλατία καὶ ἐν τῆ Ἰβηρία συχνὰς ἀπῷκισε, καὶ Κυζικηνοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπέδωκε, Παφίοις τε σεισμῷ πονήσασι καὶ χρήματα ἐχαρίσατο καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὖγουσταν καλεῖν κατὰ δόγμα ἐπέτρεψε. ταῦτα δὲ ἔγραψα οὐχ ὅτι οὐ ਖαὶ ἄλλαις πόλεσι πολλαῖς καὶ πρότερον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αὖγουστος ἐφ' ὁμοίαις συμφοραῖς καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ἐπεκούρησαν, ὧν εἴ τις ἀπάντων μνημονεύοι, ἀπέραντον αν τὸ ἔργον τῆς συγγραφῆς γένοιτος ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ γερουσία ἐν μέρει τιμῆς ἔνεμε, καὶ οὐχ ὡσπερ νῦν αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἔκαστοι καταλόγους ονομάτων οῦς ἀν ἐθελήσωσιν ὡς πλήθει ποιοῦνται.

24 Τῷ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένω ἔτει Μᾶρκος μὲν Κράσσος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος ὑπάτευσαν, οἱ δ' ἀγορανόμοι οἱ κουρούλιοι, ἀπειπόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι ἐξαισίων σφίσι τῶν ὀρνίθων γενομένων ἤρηντο,* αὐθις αὐτὴν ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐν ἐτέρα ἐκκλησία ἀνέ-

2 λαβον. ή τε στοὰ ή Παύλειος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὸ πύρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἑστιαῖον ἀφίκετο, ὅστε καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἔς τε τὸ Παλάτιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀειπαρθένων (ή γὰρ πρεσβεύουσα αὐτῶν ἐτετύφλωτο) ἀνακομισθῆναι καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἰερέως

3 τοῦ Διὸς οἰκίαν τεθῆναι. ἡ μὲν οὖν στοὰ μετὰ τοῦτο ὀνόματι μὲν ὑπ' Αἰμιλίου, ἐς ὃν τὸ τοῦ

of supplied by Ba. (ah by Xyl.). Santa Rk., niparto M.

ROOK LIV

and he built a colonnade, inscribing on it the name, ac is not of Pollio, but of Livia.

However, he did this later. At the time we are considering he colonized numerous cities in Gaul and in Spain, restored to the people of Cyzicus their freedom, and gave money to the Paphians, who had suffered from an earthquake, besides allowing them, by a decree, to call their city Augusta. I record this, not that Augustus and the senators, too, did not aid many other cities also both before and after this occasion, in case of similar misfortunes,indeed, if one should mention them all, the work involved in making the record would be endless, -but my purpose is to show that the senate even assigned names to cities as a mark of honour and that the inhabitants did not, as is usually done now, make out for themselves in each instance lists of names according to their own pleasure.

The next year Marcus Crassus and Gnacus Corne- *c. 14 lius were consuls; and the curule aediles, after resigning their office because they had been elected under unfavourable auspices, received it again, contrary to precedent, at another meeting of the assembly. The Basilica of Paulus was burned and the flames spread from it to the temple of Vesta, so that the sacred objects there were carried up to the Palatine by the Vestal Virgins,1-except the eldest, who had become blind,-and were placed in the house of the priest of Jupiter. The basilica was afterwards rebuilt, nominally by Aemilius, who was

ποιήσαντός ποτε αυτήν γένος εληλύθει, το δε έργω ύπό τε τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Παύλου φίλων ανωκοδομήθη τότε δε οί τε Παννόνιοι νεωτερίσαντες αύθις έχειρώθησαν, και αί Αλπεις αι παραθαλασσίδιοι ύπο Διγύων των κομητών καλουμένων έλευθέρως έτι και τότε νε-4 μόμεναι έδουλώθησαν. τά τε έν τῷ Βοσπόρφ τῷ Κιμμερίω νεοχμώσαντα κατέστη. Σκριβώνιος γάρ τις του τε Μιθριδάτου έγγονος είναι καὶ παρά του Λύγούστου την βασιλείαν, επειδήπερ ό Ασανδρος έτεθνήκει, είληφέναι λέγων, την γυναϊκα αύτοῦ Δύναμίν τε καλουμένην και την άρχην παρά του άνδρος έπιτετραμμένην, ή του τε Φαρνάκου θυγάτηρ και τοῦ Μιθριδάτου έγγονος άληθώς ήν, ηγάγετο, και του Βόσπορου διά χειρός 5 έποιείτο. πυθόμενος ούν ταῦτα ό 'Αγρίππας τον Πολέμωνα έπ' αὐτόν, του τοῦ Πόντου τοῦ πρός τή Καππαδοκία όντος βασιλεύοντα, έπεμψε καί δς Σκριβώνιον μεν ουκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε (μαθόντες γάρ οί Βοσπόριοι την ἐπιβολην Ι αυτού προαπέκτειναν αὐτόν), άντιστάντων δέ οι έκείνων δέει του μη βασιλεύεσθαι αυτώ δοθήναι, ές χειράς α σφισιν ήλθε. και ένίκησε μέν, ού μην και παρεστήσατό σφας πρίν τον Αγρίππαν ές Σινώπην έλθειν ώς και έπ' αυτούς στρατεύσοντα. ούτω δέ τά τε όπλα κατέθευτο καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι παρεδόθησαν ή τε γυνή ή Δίναμις συνώκησεν αυτώ, του 7 Λίγούστου δήλου ότι ταυτα δικαιώσαυτος. καὶ επ' αὐτοῖς θυσίαι μὲν τῷ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου ὀνόματι έγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια καίτοι ψηφισθέντα αὐτῷ ἐπέμφθη ούτε γὰρ ἔγραψεν ἀρχήν

BOOK LIV

the descendant of the family of the man who had s.c. 14 formerly creeted it, but really by Augustus and the friends of Paulus. At this time the Pannonians revolted again and were subdued, and the Maritime Alps, inhabited by the Ligurians who were called Comati,1 and were still free even then, were reduced to slavery. And the revolt among the tribes of the Cimmerian Bosporus was quelled. It seems that one Scribonius, who claimed to be a grandson of Mithridates and to have received the kingdom from Augustus after the death of Asander, married Asander's wife, named Dynamis, who was really the daughter of Pharnaces and the granddaughter of Mithridates and had been entrusted with the regency by her husband, and thus he was holding Bosporus under his control. Agrippa, upon learning of this, sent against him Polemon, the king of that part of Pontus bordering on Cappadocia. Polemon found Scribonius no longer alive, for the people of Bosporus, learning of his advance against them, bad already put him to death; but when they resisted Polemon through fear that he might be allowed to reign over them, he engaged them in battle. But although he conquered them, he was unable to reduce them to submission until Agrippa came to Sinope with the purpose of conducting a campaign against them. Then they laid down their arms and were delivered up to Polemon; and the woman Dynamis became his wife, naturally not without the sanction of Augustus. For these successes sacrifices were offered in the name of Agrippa, but the triumph which was voted him was not celebrated. Indeed, he did not so much

i f.e. the "long-haired." Cf. Gallia Comata, xlvi. 55, 5.

ές τὸ συνέδριον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν, ἀφ' οὐ δὴ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, νόμφ τινὶ τῷ ἐκείνου τρόπφ χρώμενοι, οὐδ' αὐτοί τι τῷ κοινῷ ἔτ' ἐπέστελλον, οὕτε τὴν πέμψιν τῶν νικητηρίων 8 ἐδέξατο·¹ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄλλφ τινὶ ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ, ὡς γε καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο ἐδόθη, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυ-

ροῦντο.

25 'Ο δ' οδν 2 Αύγουστος έπειδή πάντα τά τε έν ταίς Γαλατίαις καὶ τὰ έν ταίς Γερμανίαις ταίς τ' 'Ιβηρίαις, πολλά μεν άναλώσας ώς εκάστοις πολλά δὲ και παρ ετέρων λαβών, τήν τε έλευθερίαν και την πολιτείαν τοίς μεν δούς τούς δ' άφελόμενος, διωκήσατο, του μέν Δρούσον έν τη Γερμανία κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπί τε τοῦ Τιβερίου και έπι Κυιντιλίου 3 Οδάρου υπάτων 2 ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ έτυγε γὰρ ή ἀγγελία της ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ έλθοθσα έν als Κορνήλιος Βάλβος το θέατρον το και μύν έπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον καθιερώσας θέας έπετέλει, έπί τε τούτω ώς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Λύγουστον έπανάξων έσεμνύνετο, καίτοι ύπο του πλήθους τοῦ ύδατος, όπερ ὁ Τίβερις πλεονάσας ἐπεποιήκει, μηδε έσελθείν ές το θέατρον εί μη πλοίω δυνηθείς. καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος πρώτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τη τοῦ θεάτρου 3 τιμή ἐπεψήφισεν. ή τε γαρ βουλή ήθροίσθη, καὶ έδοξε σφισιν άλλα τε καὶ βωμον εν αυτώ τῷ βουλευτηρίω ύπερ της του Λυγούστου επανόδου ποιήas notify the senate of what had been accomplished, as 14 and in consequence subsequent conquerors, treating his course as a precedent, also gave up the practice of sending reports to the public; and he would not accept the celebration of the triumph. For this reason, -at least, such is my opinion, -no one else of his peers was permitted to do so any longer, either, but they enjoyed merely the distinction of

triumphal honours.

Now when Augustus had finished all the business which occupied him in the several provinces of Gaul, of Germany and of Spain, having spent large sums upon special districts and received large soms from others, having bestowed freedom and citizenship mon some and taken them away from others, he left Drusus in Germany and returned to Rome himself in the consulship of Tiberius and Quintilius Varus. ac. 10 Now it chanced that the news of his coming reached the city during those days when Cornelius Balbus was celebrating with spectacles the dedication of the theatre which is even to-day called by his name; and Balbus accordingly began to put on airs, as if it were he himself that was going to bring Augustus back,-although he was unable even to enter his theatre, except by boat, on account of the flood of water caused by the Tiber, which had overflowed its banks,-and Tiberius put the vote to him first, in honour of his building the theatre. For the senate convened, and among its other decrees voted to place an altar in the senatechamber itself, to commemorate the return of Augus-

¹ Literally, "in the Gauls, in the Germanies, and the Spains." "Germany" here and just below refers to the provinces of Upper and Lower Germany, west of the Rhine. See note on liti. 12, 6.

σασθαι, τοις τε ίκετεύσασιν αυτον έντος του πωμηρίου όντα άδειαν είναι. οὺ μέντοι καὶ εδέξατο ουδέτερου, άλλα και την απάντησιν του δήμου και 1 τότε έξέστη νυκτός γαρ ές την πόλιν εσεκομίσθη, όπερ που και άει ώς είπειν, είτε ές τὰ προύστεια είτε και άλλοσέ ποι εκδημοίη, και αφορμώμενος και έπανιών όμοίως έποίει, ίνα μηδενί αὐτών οχληρός είη. τη δ' ύστεραία έν τε τω παλατίω τον δήμον ήσπάσατο, και ές το Καπιτώλιον άνελθών την τε δάφνην από των ράβδων περιείλε και ές τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα κατέθετο, τῷ τε δήμω προϊκα τά τε λουτρά και τους κουρέας την ημέραν 3 έκείνην παρέσχε, συναγαγών δε έκ τούτου το βουλευτήριου αυτός μεν ουδέν είπεν ύπο βράγχου, το δέ δή βιβλίου το ταμία άναγνώναι δούς τά τε πεπραγμένα οι κατηριθμήσατο, καλ διέταξε τά τε έτη όσα οί πολίται στρατεύσοιντο, και τὰ γρήματα δσα παυσάμενοι της στρατείας, άντι της γώρας ην ἀεί ποτε ήτουν, λήψοιντο, όπως ἐπὶ ρητοίς έκείθεν ήδη καταλεγόμενοι μηδέν τούτων γε ιι ένεκα νεωτερίζωσεν. ην δέ δ τε άριθμός των έτων τοίς μεν δορυφόροις δώδεκα τοίς δ' άλλοις έκκαίδεκα, καὶ τὸ ἱ άργύριον τοῖς μέν έλαττον τοῖς δὲ πλείου. ταύτα δὲ ἐκείνοις μὲν ούθ' ήδουὴν ούτ' οργήν εν γε τώ τότε παρόντι ένεποίησε διά το μήτε πάντων ών επεθύμουν τυχείν μήτε πάντων διαμαρτείν, τοίς δε δη άλλοις άγαθας ελπίζας του μηκέτι των κτημάτων άφαιρεθήσεσθαι.

26 Μετά δε δη ταῦτα τό τε θέατρου τὸ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου καλούμενου καθιέρωσε, κάν τῆ πανηγύρει

¹ TE Bk., 32 VM. 3 Sifthior V., Suffalor M. 4 Th Bk., Th pre VM. 4 Th Bk., Th pre VM.

tus, and also voted that those who approached him ac is as suppliants while he was inside the pomerium should not be punished. Nevertheless, he accepted neither of these honours, and even avoided encountering the people on this occasion also; for he entered the city at night. This he did nearly always whenever he went out to the suburbs or anywhere else, both on his way out and on his return, so that he might trouble none of the citizens. The next day he welcomed the people in the palace, and then, ascending the Capitol, took the laurel from around his fasces and placed it upon the knees of Jupiter; and he also placed baths and barbers at the service of the people free of charge on that day. After this he convened the senate, and though he made no address himself by reason of hoarseness, he gave his manuscript to the quaestor to read and thus enumerated his achievements and promulgated rules as to the number of years the citizens should serve in the army and as to the amount of money they should receive when discharged from service, in lieu of the land which they were always demanding. His object was that the soldiers, by being enlisted henceforth on certain definite terms, should find no excuse for revolt on this score. The number of years was twelve for the Pretorians and sixteen for the rest; and the money to be distributed was less in some cases and more in others. These measures caused the soldiers neither pleasure nor anger for the time being, because they neither obtained all they desired nor yet failed of all; but in the rest of the population the measures aroused confident hopes that they would not in future be robbed of their possessions.

He next dedicated the theatre named after Marcellus. In the course of the festival held for this

349

τη διά τούτο γενομένη την τε Τροίαν οι παίδες οι εύπατρίδαι οί τε άλλοι και ό έγγονος αύτου ό Γάιος Ϊππευσαν, καὶ θηρία Λιβυκά έξακόσια 2 άπεσφάγη τά τε γενέθλια τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὁ Ιουλλος ο του 'Αντωνίου παίς στρατηγών καί ίπποδρομία και σφαγαίς θηρίων έώρτασε, και έν τῷ Καπιτωλίω καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ την βουλήν κατά

δόγμα αύτης είστίασεν.

Εκ δε τούτου εξέτασις αδθις των βουλευτών έγένετο. έπειδή γάρ το μέν πρώτον δέκα μυριάδων τὸ τίμημα αὐτοῖς ώριστο διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς τών πατρώων ύπὸ τῶν πολέμων ἐστερῆσθαι, προϊόντος δέ του χρόνου και των ανθρώπων περιουσίας κτωμένων ές πέντε καὶ είκοσι προήχθη, οὐκέτ 4 οὐδείς εθελουτὶ 1 βουλεύσων ευρίσκετο, άλλά καὶ παίδες είσιν οι και έγγονοι βουλευτών, οι μέν ώς άληθώς πενόμενοι οί δὲ καὶ ἐκ συμφορών προγονικών τεταπεινωμένοι, ούχ όσον ούκ άντεποιούντο του βουλευτικού άξιώματος, άλλα και προσο κατειλεγμένοι ήδη εξώμνυντο. και δια τούτο πρότερου μέν, ἀποδημούντος έτι του Αύγούστου, δόγμα έγένετο τους είκοσι καλουμένους άνδρας έκ των ίππέων αποδείκνυσθαι όθεν ούκετ ούδεις αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, μη καὶ ἐτέραν τινα άρχην των ες αυτό εσάγειν δυναμένων λαβών. 6 οι δε δη είκοσιν ούτοι ανόρες εκ των έξ και είκοσίν είσιν, οί τε τρείς οι τὰς του θανάτου δίκας προστεταγμένοι, και οι έτεροι τρείς οι το τοῦ

thexarri It. Steph., thexarry VM. of 84 5h Rk., elre 8h V, of re 8h M.

purpose the patrician boys, including his grandson as in Gains, performed the equestrian exercise called "Troy," and six hundred wild beasts from Africa were slain. And to celebrate the birthday of Augustus, Iullus, the son of Antony, who was practor, gave games in the Circus and a slaughter of wild beasts, and entertained both the emperor and the senate, in pursuance of a decree of that

body, upon the Capitol.

After this there was another purging of the lists of the senate. At first, as we have seen, the rating of senators had been fixed at four hundred thousand sesterces, because many of them had been stripped of their ancestral estates by the wars, and then, as time went on and men acquired wealth, it had been raised to one million sesterces. Consequently no one was any longer found who would of his own choice become a senator; on the contrary, sons and grandsons of senators, some of them really poor and others reduced to humble station by the misfortunes of their ancestors, not only would not lay claim to the senatorial dignity, but also, when already entered on the lists, swore that they were ineligible. Therefore, previous to this time, while Augustus was still absent from the city, a decree had been passed that the Vigintiviri, as they were called, should be appointed from the knights; and thus none of these men eligible to be senators was any longer enrolled in the senate without having also held one of the other offices that led to it. These Vigintiviri are what is left of the Vigintisexviri, of whom three? are in charge of criminal trials, another three3 attend to

See xhii. 23, fl, and note. Tressiri capitales.

νομίσματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι, οί τε τέσσαρες οἱ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ὁδῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, καὶ οί δέκα οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἐκατὸν 7 άνδρας κληρουμένων ἀποδεικνύμενοι οί γὰρ δή δύο οί τὰς έξω τοῦ τείχους όδοὺς ἐγχειριζόμενοι, οί τε τέσσαρες οι ές την Καμπανίαν πεμπόμενοι. κατελέλυντο. τοῦτό τε οῦν ἐν τῆ τοῦ Αὐγούστου έκδημία εψηφίσθη, και ίν , έπειδη μηδείς έτι ραδίως την δημαρχίαν ήτει, κλήρω τινές εκ των τεταμιευκότων καὶ μήπω τεσσαράκοντα έτη γεγονότων 8 καθιστώνται. τότε δὲ αὐτὸς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξήτασε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα έτη γεγουύτων ούκ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε, τοὺς δὲ έντός τε της ήλικίας ταύτης δυτας και το τίμημα έγοντας βουλεύσαι κατηνάγκασε, γωρίς ή εί τις 9 άνάπηρος ήν. και τὰ μὲν σώματα και αὐτός που αὐτῶν εώρα, περί δὲ δὰ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅρκοις ἐπιστούτο αύτών τε έκείνων καὶ έτέρων συνομνύντων σφίσι και λογισμον της τε άπορίας άμα και του βίου διδόντων.

27 Καὶ οὐκ ἐν μὲν τοῖς κοινοῖς τοιοῦτος ἢν, τῶν δ' ἰδίων * παρημέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Τιβερίω ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι τὸν Γάιον ἐν τῷ πανηγύρει τῷ εὐκταίᾳ, ἢν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπανόδω αὐτοῦ διετίθει, παρεκαθίσατο, καὶ τῷ δήμο ὅτι καὶ κρότοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸν 2 ἐτίμησαν. ἐπειδή τε τοῦ Λεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος

¹ frei M. frai V. Tirks Leunel, Tirks VM. abrar M. abrar V. 1 Bior cod. Coisl., Buris VM.

the coinage of the money, four look after the ac is streets in the city, and ten are assigned to the courts which are allotted to the Centumviri; for the two who were once entrusted with the roads outside the walls and the four who used to be sent to Campania had been abolished. This was one decree that was passed during the absence of Augustus; there was also another providing that, since no one was any longer ready to seek the tribuneship, some of the ex-quaestors who were not yet forty years old should be appointed to the office by lot. But on the present occasion Augustus himself made an investigation of the whole senatorial class. With those who were over thirty-five years of age he did not concern himself, but in the case of those who were under that age and possessed the requisite rating he compelled them to become senators, unless one of them was physically disabled. He examined their persons himself, but in regard to their property he accepted sworn statements, the men themselves and others as witnesses taking an oath and rendering an account of their poverty as well as of their manner of life.

Nor did he, while showing such strictness in the public business, neglect his private affairs; indeed, he rebuked both Tiberius, because at the festival, given under Tiberius' management, in fulfilment of a vow for the emperor's return, he had seated Gaius at the emperor's side, and the people for honouring Gaius with applause and culogies. On the death of

353

¹ Quatuorviri viis in urbe purpandis; cf. chap. 8, 4.

Decemeiri attitibus indicandis.

² Duoviri viis extra urbem purgandis.

⁴ Quatuor praefecti Copnam Cumas.

⁵ Cf. Suet., Aug. 56,

άρχιέρεως ἀπεδείχθη καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσασθαι ... ' αὐτῷ ² ἡθέλησεν, οὕτε τι αὐτῶν προσήσεσθαι ἔφη, καὶ ἐγκειμένων οἱ ἐξανέστη τε καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ ούτε ἐκείνα ἔτ' ἐκυρώθη οὕτ' οἰκίαν τινὰ δημοσίαν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῆς ἐαυτοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἀρχιέρεων ἐν κοινῷ πάντως οἰκείν ἐχρῆν, ἐδημοσίωσεν. τὴν μέντοι τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ἱερῶν ³ ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις ἔδωκεν, ἐπειδὴ ' ὁμότοιχος ταῖς οἰκήσεσιν αὐτῶν ἡν.

Κορνηλίου τε Σισέννου αίτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς γυναικὸς βίω σχόντος, καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίω εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ εἰδότος καὶ συμβουλεύσαντός οι αὐτοῦ ἡγάγετο αὐτήν, περιοργής τε ἐγένετο καὶ εἶπε μὲνοὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔπραξε δεινόν, ἐκπηδήσας δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔπειτα μετ ὀλίγον ἐπανῆλθεν, ἐλόμενος, ὡς γε καὶ τοῦς φίλοις μετὰ ταῦτα ἔφη, τοῦτο μᾶλλον καίπερ οὐκ ὀρθώς ἔχον ποιῆσαι ἡ κατὰ χώραν μείνας ἀναγκασθῆναί τι κακὸν δράσαι.

28 Κάν τούτφ τὸν Αγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῆ τε δημαρχικῆ ἐξουσία αὐθις ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμησείουσαν ἐξέπεμψε, μείζον αὐτῷ τῶν ἐκασταχόθι ἔξω τῆς Ἱταλίας ἀρχόντων ἰσχῦσαι ἐπιτρέψας, καὶ δι τὴν μὲν στρατείαν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐν ῷ Μᾶρκος τε Οὐαλέριος καὶ Πούπλιος Σουλπίκιος ὑπάτευον, ἐνεστηκότος ἐποιήσατο, ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν Παννονίων πρὸς τὴν ἔψοδον αὐτοῦ

Lacuna recognized by Elsner. 1 air V, sirie M.

lepür Leunel., lepiur VM.

levelij H. Steph., level di VM.

Luciron Clandorn, diserrian VM.

Lepidus he was appointed high priest and the senate ac. 15 accordingly wished to vote him [other honours (?)]; but he declared that he would not accept any of them, and when the senators urged him, he rose and left the meeting. That measure, therefore, now failed of passage, and he also received no official residence; but, inasmuch as it was absolutely necessary that the high priest should live in a public residence, he made a part of his own house public property. The house of the rea sucrificulus, however, he gave to the Vestal Virgins, because it was separated merely by a wall from their apartments.

When Cornelius Sisenna was censured for the conduct of his wife, and stated in the senate that he had married her with the knowledge and on the advice of the emperor, Augustus became exceedingly angry. He did not, to be sure, say or do anything violent, but rushed out of the senatehouse, and then returned a little later, choosing to take this course, though it was not the correct thing to do, as he said to his friends afterward, rather than to remain where he was and be compelled to

do something harsh.

Meanwhile he increased the power of Agrippa, who had returned from Syria, by giving him the tribunician power again for another five years, and he sent him out to Pannonia, which was eager for war, entrusting him with greater authority than the officials outside Italy ordinarily possessed. And Agrippa set out on the campaign in spite of the fact that the winter had already begun (this was the year in which Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius ac 19 were the consuls); but when the Pannonians became terrified at his approach and gave up their

και μηδέν έτι νεωτερισάντων επανήλθε, και έν 3 Καμπανία γενόμενος ενόσησε. πυθόμενος δε τουτο ο Αύγουστος (έτυγε δε έν τοις Παναθηναίοις όπλομαχίας άγωνας τω των παίδων ονόματι τιθείς) έξωρμήθη, και καταλαβών αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ές τε τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σώμα αὐτοῦ ἐσεκόμισε καὶ ἐν τη ἀγορά προέθηκε, τόν τε λόγον τον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ είπε, παραπέτασμά τι πρό τοῦ νεκροῦ παρατείνας. 4 όπερ έγω μεν ούκ οίδα δια τί έποίησεν, είρηται δέ όμως τοις μέν ότι άρχιέρεως ήν, τοις δέ ότι τὰ τών τιμητών έπραττεν, ούκ ορθώς φρονούσιν ούτε γάρ τω άρχιέρεφ απείρηται νεκρον όραν ούτε τώ τιμητή, πλην αν το τέλος ταις απογραφαίς μέλλη έπάξειν αν γάρ τινα πρό του καθαρσίου ίδη, άνάδαστα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ πάντα γύγνεται. 5 τουτό τε ούν ούτως έδρασε, και την έκφοραν αύτου έν τω τρόπω έν ώ και αύτος μετά ταθτα έξηνέχθη έποιήσατο, και αυτον και έν τω έαυτου μνημείω έθανε, καίτοι ίδιον εν τῷ 'Αρείω πεδίω λαβύντα.'

29 Αγρίππας μεν οὖν οὖτω μετήλλαξε, τά τε ἄλλα ἄριστος τῶν καθ ἐαυτον ἀνθρώπων διαφανῶς γενόμενος, καὶ τῆ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φιλία πρός τε τὸ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῷ κοινῷ 2 συμφορώτατου χρησάμενος. ὅσον τε γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀρετῆ κατεκράτει, τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου ἐθελοντὴς ἡττᾶτο, καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐς τὰ λυσιτελέστατα παρέ-

plans for rebellion, he returned, and upon reaching at 12 Campania, fell ill. Augustus happened to be exhibiting, in the name of his sons, contests of armed warriors at the Panathenaic festival,1 and when he learned of Agrippa's illness, he set out for Italy: and finding him dead, he conveyed his body to the capital and caused it to lie in state in the Forum. He also delivered the eulogy over the dead, after first hanging a curtain in front of the corpse. Why he did this, I do not know. Some, however, have stated that it was because he was high priest, otherthat it was because he was performing the duties of censor. But both are mistaken, since neither the high priest is forbidden to look at a corpse, nor the censor, either, except when he is about to complete the census; but if he looks upon a corpse then, before his purification, all his work has to be done over again. Now Augustus not only did what I have recorded, but also had the funeral procession of Agrippa conducted in the manner in which his own was afterward conducted, and he buried him in his own sepulchre, though Agrippa had taken one for himself in the Campus Martins.

Such was the end of Agrippa, who had in every way clearly shown himself the noblest of the men of his day and had used the friendship of Augustus with a view to the greatest advantage both of the emperor himself and of the commonwealth. For the more he surpassed others in excellence, the more inferior he kept himself of his own free will to the emperor; and while he devoted all the wisdom and valour he himself possessed to the highest interests of Augustus, he lavished all the

¹ In Athens.

γων πάσαν την παρ' εκείνου και τιμην και δύναμιν 3 ές τὸ τους άλλους εὐεργετεῖν ἀνήλισκεν, ἀφ οὐ δη και τὰ μάλιστα ούτ' αὐτῶ ποτε τῶ Αὐνούστω έπανθής ούτε τοις άλλοις επίφθονος εγένετο, άλλ' έκείνω τε την μουαργίαν ώς και δυναστείας όντως έπιθυμητής Ι συνέστησε, και τον δήμον εύεργει σίαις ώς καὶ δημοτικώτατος προσεποιήσατο, καὶ τότε γούν κήπους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸ βαλανείον τὸ έπωνυμον αυτού κατέλιπεν, ώστε προίκα αυτούς λούσθαι, γωρία τινά ἐς τούτο τῷ Αὐγούστω δούς. καὶ ος ού μόνον ταυτ' έδημοσίευσεν, άλλα καὶ καθ' έκατου 2 δραγμάς το δήμο ώς και έκείνου 5 κελεύσαντος διένειμε. των τε γαρ πλείστων αύτου έκληρονόμησεν, έν οίς άλλα τε και ή Χερρόνησος ην η προς τω Έλλησπόντω, ούκ οίδ' όπως ές του 'Αγρίππαν έλθούσα: και πάνυ έπὶ πολύ αὐτὸν ἐπόθησεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ έντιμον παρά τω δήμω έποίησε, τόν τε υίδν τον τελευτήσαντί οι γεννηθέντα 'Αγρίππαν προση-6 γόρευσεν, ού μέντοι ούτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκλιπεῖν τι τῶν πατρίων, καίπερ μηδενὸς τῶν πρώτων ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις απαντήσαι έθέλοντος, έπέτρεψε, καὶ αύτος τὰς μονομαχίας διετέλεσε πολλάκις τε 7 και απόντος αύτου εποιούντο, ούτω γούν ούκ ίδιον τούτο τὸ πάθος τῆ τοῦ 'Αγρίππου οίκια άλλα και κοινόν πασι τοις 'Ρωμαίοις εγένετο, ώστε καὶ σημεία όσα πρό τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν

¹ dribumpris Xyl., dribumpria VM cod. Peir. 2 dravor M. dearror V cod. Peir.

^{*} de supplied by Ba. * Tr Ba., ye VM.

honour and influence he received from him upon ac. 12 benefactions to others. It was because of this in particular that he never became obnoxious to Augustus himself nor invidious to his fellow-citizens; on the contrary, he helped Augustus to establish the monarchy, as if he were really a devoted adherent of the principle of autocratic rule, and he won over the people by his benefactions, as if he were in the highest degree a friend of popular government. At any rate, even at his death he left them gardens and the baths named after him, so that they might bathe free of cost, and for this purpose gave Augustus certain estates.1 And the emperor not only turned these over to the state, but also distributed to the people four hundred sesterces apiece, giving it to be understood that Agrippa had so ordered. And, indeed, he had inherited most of Agrippa's property. including the Chersonese on the Hellespont, which had come in some way or other into Agrippa's hands. Augustus felt his loss for a long time and hence caused him to be honoured in the eyes of the people; and he named the posthumous son born to him Agrippa. Nevertheless, he did not allow the citizens at large, although none of the prominent men wished to attend the festivals, to omit any of the time-honoured observances, and he in person superintended the gladiatorial combats, though they were often held without his presence. The death of Agrippa, far from being merely a private loss to his own household, was at any rate such a public loss to all the Romans that portents occurred on this occasion in such numbers as are wont to happen

For the baths, see ini. 27, 1. The estates here mentioned were to provide an income for the maintenance of the baths.

συμβαίνειν σφίσιν είωθε, και τότε συνενεχθήναι. Βύαι τε γάρ τη πόλει διεφοίτησαν, και κεραννός ές την έν τω 'Αλβανώ οίκιαν, ές ην οί υπατοι έν s ταις lepoupylais καταλύουσιν, ενέσκηψε, το τε άστρου ο κομήτης ώνομασμένος έπι πολλάς ήμέρας ύπερ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄστεως αἰωρηθείς ές λαμπάδας διελύθη. και πυρί άλλα τε της πόλεως συχνά καὶ ή τοῦ Ῥωμύλου σκηνή ἐκαύθη, κοράκων κρέα ές αὐτὴν ἐκ βωμοῦ τινος ἔμπυρα ἐμβα-LOUTON.

30 Ούτω μέν τα κατά Αγρίππαν έγένετο μετά δέ δή ι τούτο ο Λύγουστος επιμελητής τε και έπανορθωτής των τρόπων ές έτερα έτη πέντε αίρεθείς (και γάρ τούτο κατά προθεσμίας, ώσπερ που και την μοναργίαν, ελάμβανε) θυμιάν τε τους Βουλευτάς εν τώ συνεδρίω, οσάκις αν έδρα αυτών ή, καὶ τὴν ἄφιξιν πρὸς ἐαυτὸν μὴ εποιείσθαι, τὸ μεν ΐνα θεοσεβωσι, τὸ δὲ ῗν ἀπονητὶ συνίωσιν, 2 ἐκέλευσε. την δὲ δημαρχίαν δλίγων σφόδρα διὰ το την ισχύν σφων καταλελύσθαι αιτούντων, ένομοθέτησεν έκ των ίππέων των μη έλαττον πέντε και είκοσι μυριάδας κεκτημένων προβάλλεσθαι τούς εν ταις άρχαις ενα έκαστον, κάκ τούτων το πλήθος τους ενδέουτας αιρείσθαι εφ' ώ τε, εί μεν και βουλεύειν μετά τουτ εθέλοιεν, εί δε μή, ές

την ίππάδα αὐθις ἐπανιέναι ἐξείναι.

'Επειδή τε ή 'Ασία το έθνος έπικουρίας τινός διά σεισμούς μάλιστα έδείτο, τον τε φόρον αυτής

^{1 35} V, om. M.

and supplied by Bk., following Casaubon.

^{*} ἀτονητί R. Steph., ἀτονητεί VM. * ἀφ' ψ τε Bk., σφισιν VM. * ἐδείτο Dimi., ἐδείτο VM.

to them before the greatest calamities. Owls kept Re. 12 flitting about the city, and lightning struck the house on the Alban Mount where the consuls lodge during the sacred rites. 1 The star called the comet 2 hung for several days over the city and was finally dissolved into flashes resembling torches. Many buildings in the city were destroyed by fire, among them the hut of Romulus, 2 which was set ablaze by crows which dropped upon it burning meat from some altar.

These were the events connected with Agrippa's death, After this Augustus was chosen supervisor and corrector of morals i for another five years; for he received this office also for limited periods, as he did the monarchy. He ordered the senators to burn incense in their assembly hall whenever they held a session, and not to pay the usual visit to him, his purpose being, in the first instance, that they should show reverence to the gods, and, in the second, that they should not be hindered in convening. And inasmuch as extremely few candidates sought the tribuneship, because its power had been abolished, he made a law that the magistrates in office should each nominate one of the knights who possessed not less than one million sesterces, and that the plebs should then fill the vacancies in the tribuneship from this list, with the understanding that, if the men desired to be senators later, they might do so, or otherwise they should return again to the equestrian order.

When the province of Asia was in dire need of assistance on account of carthquakes, he paid into

At the Feriae Latinae.

Cf. xlviii. 43, 4.

[&]quot; i.e. the " hairy " star.

[·] Pranfectus moribus.

τον έτειον έκ των έαυτου χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε, καὶ ἄρχοντά οἱ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλ' οὐχ

αίρετου, ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη προσέταξε.

Α Κακώς τέ ποτε τοῦ 'Απουλείου ' καὶ τοῦ Μαικήνου ἐν δικαστηρίω τινὶ μοιχείας, οὺχ ὅτι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ ὅτι τῷ κρινομένω σπουδἢ συνήροντο, ἀκουώντων ἢλθέ τε ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τἢ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔδρα καθιζήσας δεινὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγόρω μήτε τοὺς συγγενεῖς μήτε τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη. καὶ αὐτὸν

διά τε ταθτα και διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδριᾶσι τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτίμησαν, και τῷ τοῖς τε ἀγίνοις και ταῖς ἀνάνδροις και συνθεὰσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις και συνδειπνεῖν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ δοῦναι οὐ

γαρ έξην ουδέτερον.

1 Ως δ΄ οὐν ⁴ ο΄ Αγρίππας, ὅνπερ που δι' ἀρετὴν ἀλλ οὐ δι' ἀνάγκην τινὰ ἡγάπα, ἐτεθνήκει, καὶ συνεργοῦ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τἢ τιμῆ καὶ τἢ δυνάμει προφέρουτος, ὅστε καὶ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ ἄνευ φθάνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς πάντα διάγεσθαι, ἐδεῖτο, τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ ἄκων προσείλετο οἱ γὰρ ἔγγονοι αὐτοῦ ἐν παισὶν ἔτι καὶ ² τότε ἡσαν. καὶ προαποσπάσας καὶ ἰκείνου τὴν γυναῖκα, καίτοι τοῦ τε 'Αγρίππου θυγατέρα ἐξ ἄλλης τινὸς γαμετῆς οὐσαν, καὶ τέκνον τὸ μὲν ἡδη τρέφουσαν τὸ δὲ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσαν, τήν τε 'Ιουλίαν οἱ ἡγγύησε ⁶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Παννονίους αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε· τέως μὲν γὰρ τὸν 'Αγρίππαν

51

^{*} Amountloo M, amountee V Niph.

^{*} r.i M., om. V.

* 8' of Pflugk, your VM.

* hyydnas V. tyydnas M.

the public treasury from his private funds the ac 18 amount of its annual tribute and assigned to it for two years a governor chosen by lot and not

appointed.

On one occasion, when Apuleius and Maccenas were subjected to abuse in court when a case of adultery was being tried, not because they had behaved wantonly themselves, but because they were actively aiding the man on trial, Augustus entered the court-room and sat in the practor's chair; he took no harsh measures, but simply forbade the accuser to insult either his relatives or his friends. and then rose and left the room. For this action and others the senators honoured him with statues. paid for by private subscription, and also by giving bachelors and spinsters the right to behold spectacles and to attend banquets along with other people on his birthday; for neither of these things had been permitted previously.

When now Agrippa, whom he loved because of his excellence and not because of any kinship, was dead, Augustus felt the need of an assistant in the public business, one who would far surpass all the others in both rank and influence, so that he might transact all business promptly and without being the object of envy and intrigue. Therefore he reluctantly chose Tiberius; for his own grandsons were still boys at this time. He first made him, as he had made Agrippa, divorce his wife, though she was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage and was bringing up one child and was about to give birth to another; and having betrothed Julia to him, he sent him out against the Pannonians. This people had for a time been quiet through fear of

φοβηθέντες ήσύχασαν, τότε δὲ τελευτήσαντος 3 αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν. καί σφας ὁ Τιβέριος, πολλά μέν της χώρας πορθήσας πολλά δέ και τους άνθρώπους κακώσας, έχειρώσατο, τοις Σκορδίσκοις, ομόροις τε αύτων και ομοσκεύοις ούσι. συμμάχοις ότι μάλιστα χρησάμενος. και τά τε όπλα σφών άφείλετο, και της ήλικίας το πλείου ι ἐπ' ἐξαγωγή ἀπέδοτο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μέν βουλή τά γε επινίκια εψηφίσατο, ο δ' Αυγουστος ταθτα μέν οθκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐορτάσαι, τὰς

Το δ' αὐτο τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Δρούσω συνέβη. τῶν τε γάρ Συγάμβρων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διά

δε τιμάς τας επινικίους άντεδωκε.

τε την του Αυγούστου απουσίαν και διά το τους Γαλάτας μη έθελοδουλείν πολεμωθέντων σφίσι. τό τε υπήκοον προκατέλαβε, τους πρώτους αυτού. προφάσει της έορτης ην και νύν περί τον του Αύγούστου βωμον έν Λουγδούνω τελούσι, μεταπεμψάμενος, και τους Κελτους τηρήσας του 2 'Ρήνον διαβαίνοντας ἀνέκοψε. καὶ μετά τούτο ές τε την των Ουσεπετών κατ' αύτην την των Βατάουων * νησον διέβη, καὶ ἐπὶ την Συγαμβρίδα έκείθεν έπιπαρελθών συχνά επόρθησεν. ές τε τον ώκεανου διά του 'Ρήνου καταπλεύσας τους τε Φρισίους δ ώκειώσατο, καὶ ές την Χαυκίδα δια της λίμνης εμβαλών εκινδύνευσε, των πλοίων ύπο της του ώκεανου παλιρροίας έπι του ξηρού

32

^{*} enopolenous M. nopolenous V.

² ye H. Steph., To VM. 3 76 supplied by R. Steph.

Bardover Leunel, Bardover VM.

^{*} operators Bk., operators VM. * owe Rk., Int VM.

Agrippa, but now after his death they had revolted. Re. 12 Tiberius subdued them after ravaging much of their country and doing much injury to the inhabitants, making as much use as possible of his allies the Scordisci, who were neighbours of the Pannonians and were similarly equipped. He took away the enemy's arms and sold most of the men of military age into slavery, to be deported from the country. For these achievements the senate voted him a triumph, but Angustus did not permit him to celebrate it, though he granted him the triumphal honours instead.

Drusus had this same experience. The Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that the Gauls were restive under their slavery, and Drusus therefore seized the subject territory ahead of them. sending for the foremost men in it on the pretext of the festival which they celebrate even now around the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum. waited for the Germans to cross the Rhine, and then repulsed them. Next he crossed over to the country of the Usipetes, passing along the very island of the Batavians, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambrian territory, where he devastated much country. He sailed down the Rhine to the ocean, won over the Frisians, and crossing the lake,2 invaded the country of the Chauci, where he ran into danger, as his ships were

³ The Usipetes or Usipii dwelt at this time just east of

the Rhine and north of the Lupia (Lippe).

Some have taken this to be the Zuyder Zee (Lacus Fleva), others the bay at the mouth of the Ems, cast of which the Chauci lived. Presumably he would already have sailed through the Zuyder Zee to reach the Frisians.

3 γενομένων. καὶ τότε μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Φρισίων τεξή συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ σωθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν), καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθῶν ἀστυνόμος ἐπί τε Κυίντου Αἰλίου καὶ ἐπὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ὑπάτων, καίπερ τὰς στρατηγικὰς τιμὰς

33 ἔχων, ἀπεδείχθη· ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἢρι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὖθις ἄρμησε, καὶ τόν τε 'Ρῆνον ἐπεραιώθη καὶ τοὺς Οὐσιπέτας κατεστρέψατο, τόν τε Λουπίαν ἔζευξε καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Συγάμβρων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ δὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν Χερουσκίδα προεχώρησε * μέχρι

2 τοῦ Οὐισούργου.³ ἡδυνήθη δὲ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι οἱ Σύγαμβροι τοὺς Χάττους, μόνους τῶν προσοίκων μὴ ἐθελήσαντάς ὁ σφισι συμμαχῆσαι, ἐν ὁργῆ σχόντες πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξεστράτευσαν, κὰν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἔλαθε ὁ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν διεξελθών. καὶ διέβη ἄν καὶ τὸν Οὐίσουργον, εἰ μὴ τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνισε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐνέστη καὶ τι καὶ σμῆνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτοῦ ¾ ἄφθη. οῦτ' οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταῦτα προεχώ-

3 ἄφθη, οὐτ' οὖν περαιτέρω διὰ ταῦτα προεχώρησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἀνακομιζόμενος δεινῶς ἐκινδύνευσεν οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἄλλως τε ἐνέδραις αὐτὸν ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ ποτε ἐς στενὸν καὶ κοῖλον χωρίον κατακλείσαντες ὁλίγου διέφθειραν, κάν πασσυδὶ ἀν' ἀπώλεσαν, εἰ μὴ καταφρονήσαντές σφων ὡς καὶ ἐαλωκότων καὶ μιᾶς ἐπικοπῆς.

[·] openius M. openius V.

[&]quot; проехфрать Lennel., просехфрась VM.

Oursepyou Leunch, adissorped VM. (and similarly just below).

ROOK LIV

left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean. He was ac. 12 saved on this occasion by the Frisians, who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter. Upon arriving in Lott Rome he was appointed practor urbanus, in the consulship of Quintius Aelius and Paulus Fabius, although he already had the rank of practor. At the beginning of spring he set out again for the war. crossed the Rhine, and subjugated the Usipetes. He bridged the Lupia,1 invaded the country of the Sugambri, and advanced through it into the country of the Cherusci, as far as the Visurgis.2 He was able to do this because the Sugambri, in anger at the Chatti, the only tribe among their neighbours that had refused to join their alliance, had made a campaign against them with all their population; and seizing this opportunity, he traversed their country unnoticed. He would have crossed the Visurgis also, had he not run short of provisions, and had not the winter set in and, besides, a swarm of bees been seen in his camp. Consequently he proceeded no farther, but retired to friendly territory, encountering great dangers on the way. For the enemy harassed him everywhere by ambuscades, and once they shut him up in a narrow pass and all but destroyed his army; indeed, they would have annihilated them, had they not conceived a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke, and so come

1 The Lippe. 1 The Weser.

" Авиканий М. Авинивий» V.

^{*} Weahoarras Bk., Beahoarras VM. * nas Rk., nas VM. * Facto M, Schade V. * in M. om. V.

4 όντων όμόσε αὐτοῖς ἀσύντακτοι 1 ἐχώρησαν, νικηθέντες γάρ έκ τούτου ούκεθ' όμοίως έθρασύνουτο, άλλα πόρρωθεν μέν σφας παρελύπουν. έγγυς δέ ου προσήεσαν, ώστε του Δρούσον άντικαταφρονήσαντα αύτων έκει τε ή ο τε Λουπίας και ο Έλίσων συμμίγνυνται Φρούριον τί σφισιν έπιτειχίσαι, καὶ έτερον έν Χάττοις παρ' αυτώ τω 5 Ρήνω. διά μεν ούν ταύτα τάς τε επινικίους τιμάς και το έπι κέλητος ές το άστυ έσελάσαι, τη τε του ανθυπάτου έξουσία, έπειδαν διαστρατηγήση, χρήσασθαι έλαβε. το γαρ όνομα το του αὐτοκράτορος ἐπεφημίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτών και έκείνω τότε και τω Τιβερίω πρότερον, ού 3 μέντοι παρά του Αθγούστου έδοθη, καιπερ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων των έργων τον ἀριθμον τῆς έπικλήσεως αυξήσαντος.

34 Έν ῷ δ' οὖν ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, ῆ τε πανήγυρις ἡ τῆ στρατηγία αὐτοῦ προσήκουσα πολυτελεστάτη ἐποιήθη, καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμω καὶ ἐν τῆ ἄλλη

2 πόλει πολλαχόθι θηρίων σφαγαίς έτιμήθη. και τοῦτο μέν, καίτοι μη ψηφισθέν, ἐν πάσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεσι πρός τινος τῶν ἀεὶ στρατηγούντων ἐγίγνετο τὰ δὲ δὴ Αὐγουστάλια, ὰ καὶ νῦν ἄγεται. τότε πρώτον ἐκ δόγματος ἐτελέσθη.

Το Τε Τιβέριος τούς τε Δελμάτας νεοχμώσαντας καὶ τοὺς Παυνονίους μετὰ τοῦτο πρός τε τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀπουσίαν νεωτερίσαντας ἐχειρώσατο, πολεμῶν τε ἄμα

dolvrante M. dolvrante V.

^{2 5} M. dr V.

a reoresor of Leunel., of reoresor VM.

to close quarters with them in disorder. This led se u to their being worsted, after which they were no longer so bold, but kept up a petty annoyance of his troops from a distance, while refusing to come nearer. Drusus accordingly conceived a scorn of them in his turn and fortified a stronghold against them at the point where the Lupia and the Eliso? unite, and also another among the Chatti on the bank of the Rhine. For these successes he received the triumphal honours, the right to ride into the city on horseback,2 and to exercise the powers of a proconsul when he should finish his term as practor. Indeed, the title of imperator was given him by the soldiers by acclamation as it had been given to Tiberius earlier; but it was not granted to him by Augustus, although the number of times the emperor himself gained this appellation was increased as the result of the exploits of these two men.

While Drusus was thus occupied, the festival belonging to his practorship was celebrated in the most costly manner; and the birthday of Angustus was honoured by the slaughter of wild beasts both in the Circus and in many other parts of the city. This was done almost every year by one of the practors then in office, even if not authorised by a decree; but the Augustalia, which are still observed, were then for the first time celebrated in pursuance of

a decree.

Tiberius subdued the Dalmatians, who began a rebellion, and later the Pannonians, who likewise revolted, taking advantage of the absence of himself and the larger part of his army. He made war

* That is, to celebrate an ovatio.

369

^{*} The Alme, uniting with the Lippe at Paderborn. The usual classical form of the name is Alisa

άμφοτέροις, και τοτέ μέν τη τοτέ δε τη μεθιστάμενος, ώστε και των άθλων τών αυτών τω Δρούσφ 4 τυχείν. κάκ τούτου και ή Δελματία τη του Αυγούστου φρουρά, ώς και δπλων τινών ἀεὶ και δι εαυτήν και διά την των Παννονίων γειτονίαν

δεομένη, παρεδόθη.

Ούτοι μέν δη ταῦτ' ἔπρασσον ἐν δὲ δη τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις Οὐολογαίσης ἢ Θρῆξ Βησσός, ἱερεὺς τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Διανύσου, προσεποιήσατό τινας πολλὰ θειάσας, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποστὰς τόν τε 'Ρασκύποριν τὸν τοῦ Κότυος νίὸν νικήσας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὸν 'Ρυμητάλκην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀμαχεὶ γυμνώσας τῶν δυνάμεων τῆ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ δόξη φυγεῖν ἐποίησε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώκων ἔς τε τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐνέβαλε καὶ δεινῶς αὐτὴν ἐλυμήνατο. ὡς οῦν οὐτός τε

6 και δεινώς αὐτην ελυμήνατο. ώς οὖν οὖτός τε ταῦτ' ἐποίει καὶ οἱ Σιαλέται την Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργουν, Λούκιος Πίσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ῆς ῆρχε, προσετάχθη σφίσι καὶ προαναχωρησάντων οἴκαδε τῶν Βησσῶν ἐπειδη ἐπυυθάνουτο αὐτὸν προσιόντα, ἔς τε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἡττηθεὶς τὸ πρῶτον ἀντεπεκράτησε, καὶ ἐκείνην τε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσχώρων τῶν συνεπαναστάντων

7 σφίσιν ἐπόρθησε. καὶ τότε τοὺς μὲν ἐθελοντὰς προσθέμενος ὁ τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐκπλήξας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκ παρατάξεως συνενεχθείς, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο νεοχμώσαντάς τινας αὐτῶν αὖθις κατεδουλώσατο. καὶ αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἰερουηνίαι καὶ τιμαὶ ἐπινίκιοι ἐδόθησαν.

³ déhar Bk., éller VM.
⁵ Arlustía St., Salustía VM.

² Dietapalone Reim., Soutopalone VM. 4 Species V., Secole M. Bece Bk., Selov VM.

[&]quot; wpoodfueres Oddey, wroodsuirous VM.

upon both of them at once, shifting now to one satu
front and now to the other. As a result of his
success be gained the same prizes as Drusus. After
this Dalmatia was given over into the keeping of
Augustus, because of the feeling that it would always
require armed forces both on its own account and

because of the neighbouring Pannonians.

These men, then, were thus engaged. At this same period Vologuesus, a Bessian from Thrace and a priest of the Dionysus worshipped by that people. gained a following by practising many divinations, and with these adherents revolted. He conquered and killed Rhaseyporis, the son of Cotys, and afterwards, thanks to his reputation for supernatural power, he stripped Rhoemetalces, the victim's uncle, of his forces without a battle and compelled him to take flight. In pursuit of him he invaded the Chersonese, where he wrought great havoe. Because of these deeds of his and because of the injuries the Sialetae were causing to Macedonia, Lucius Piso was ordered to proceed against them from Pamphylia, where he was governor. The Bessi, now, when they beard that he was drawing near, retired homeward ahead of him. So he came into their country, and though defeated at first, vanquished them in turn and ravaged both their land and that of the neighbouring tribes which had taken part in the uprising. At this time he reduced all of them to submission, winning over some with their consent, terrifying others into reluctant surrender, and coming to terms with others as the result of battles; and later, when some of them rebelled, he again enslaved them. For these successes thanksgivings and triumphal honours were granted him.

35 Έν ὦ δ' οὐν ἐκείνα ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Αὐγουστος άπογραφάς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάργοντά οί καθάπερ τις ίδιώτης άπογραψάμενος, και την Βουλήν κατελέξατο. ορών δέ ότι ούκ άεὶ συχυοί συνελέγοντο, έκέλευσε τὰ δύγματα αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν ελάττοσιν ή τετρακοσίοις γίγνεσθαι ου γάρ έξην 2 τινα έκ του πρίν άλλως κυρούσθαι, έπειδή τε άργυριου αύθις ές είκουας αύτοῦ 1 και έκείνη και ό δήμος συνεσήνεγκαν, έπυτου μέν ουδεμίαν, Τηιείας δε δημοσίας και προσέτι και Όμονοίας Εξρήνης τε έστησεν. ἀεί τε γάρ ώς είπειν και έπι πάση προφάσει τουτ έποίουν, και τέλος και έν αυτή τη πρώτη του έτους ήμέρα ουκέτι ίδια που κατέβαλ. λου αὐτό, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνω προσιόντες οἱ μὲν πλεῖον οἱ δὲ ἔλαττον ἐδίδοσαν. καὶ ος προσθείς άν έτερον τοσούτον ή και πλέον αντεδίδου, ούν όπως τοίς βουλευταίς άλλα και τοίς άλλοις. ήδη δε καὶ έκεινο ήκουσα, ότι και άλλο τι άργύριον έκ λογίου τινός ή και δνείρατος παρά τών προστυχόντων οί, ώς και προσαιτών, έν μια του έτους ημέρα έλάμβανε.

Καὶ τοῦτο μέν, εἴ γέ τω πιστόν, οῦτω παραδέδοται ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνω τήν τε Ἰουλίαν τῷ Τιβερίω συνώκισε, καὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν προέθετο ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουλιείου ³ ἡρώου, παραπετάσματι καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ

5 χρησάμενος. καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκεῖ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον εἶπε, καὶ ὁ Δροῦσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος δημόσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος ἀλλαξαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτῆς οἰ

abrob Zon., ławrob VM.

Towkieler Direl, lawlor VM.

While these events were occurring, Augustus ac it took a census, making a list of all his own property like any private citizen; and he also made a roster of the senate. As he saw that sometimes there were not many present at the meetings of that body, he ordered that its decrees should be passed even when less than four hundred were present; for hitherto no decree could have validity if passed by a smaller number. When the senate and the people once more contributed money for statues of Augustus, he would set up no statue of himself, but instead set up statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax. The citizens, it seems, were nearly always and on every pretext collecting money for this same object, and at last they ceased paying it privately, as one might call it, but would come to him on the very first day of the year and give, some more, some less, into his own hands; and he, after adding as much or more again, would return it, not only to the senators but to all the rest. I have also heard the story that on one day of the year, following some oracle or dream, he would assume the guise of a beggar and would accept money from those who came up to bim.

This is the tradition, whether credible to any one or not. That year he gave Julia in marriage to Tiberius, and when his sister died, he caused her body to lie in state in the shrine of Julius; and on this occasion also he had a curtain over the corpse. He himself delivered the funeral oration there, and Drusus delivered one from the rostra; for the mourning was publicly observed and the senators had changed their dress. Her body was carried in

γαμβροί εξήνεγκαν, τὰ δε δη ψηφισθέντα αὐτη οὐ

πάντα ο Αύγουστος έδέξατο.

36 Κάν τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῷ χρόνῷ ὅ τε ἰερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς πρῶτον μετὰ τὸν Μερούλαν ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τὰ δόγματα τὰ ἐκάστοτε γιγνόμενα διὰ φυλακῆς ποιεῖσθαι ἐκελεύσθη, ἐπειδὴ οῖ τε δήμαρχοι καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ πρότερον αὐτὰ ἐπιτετραμμένοι² διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦτ ἔπραττον, καὶ τις ἐκ τούτου καὶ διαμαρτία καὶ ταραχὴ ἐγένετο.

Έψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανὸν τὸν Γέμινον ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέωκτο γάρ) κλεισθήναι, οὖ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη οἴ τε γὰρ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πεπηγότα διαβάντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἰ Δελμάται πρὸς τὰς ἐσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.
3 καὶ τούτους μεν ὁ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐς ἡν

μετὰ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσεληλύθει, καταπεμφθείς ἀνεκτήσατο, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Κελτῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων καὶ τῶν Χάττων (πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς Συγάμβρους μετέστησαν, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν, ῆν οἰκεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ρωμαίων εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξανέστησαν) ὁ Δροῦσος τὰ μὲν ἐκάκωσε τὰ δὲ ἐχειρώσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὴν Ρώμην σὺν τῷ Λύγούστω ἀνεκομίσθησαν (ἐν γὰρ τῆ Λουγδουνίδι τὰ πολλὰ οὐτος ἐγγύθεν τοῖς Κελτοῖς ἐφεδρεύων διέτριβε), καὶ δσα ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ἐψήφιστο ἡ καὶ ἄλλως

1 và supplied by Rk.

в дитеграцийно R. Steph., дисугурацийно VM.

" Аканата: St., Захната: VM.

καθήκουτα ήν γενέσθαι, έπετέλεσαν.

drearnours Pflugh, drearnours VM.

the procession by her sons-in-law; but not all the me in honours voted for her were accepted by Augustus.

At this same period the priest of Jupiter was appointed for the first time since Merula, and the quaestors were ordered to preserve the decrees passed at various times, inasmuch as the tribunes and aediles, who had previously been entrusted with this duty, were performing it through their assistants, and in consequence some mistakes and confusion occurred.

It was voted that the temple of Janus Geminus, which had been opened, should be closed, on the ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed, se. 16 however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute. Against these people Tiberius was sent from Gaul, whither he had gone in company with Augustus; and he reduced them again to submission. The Germans, particularly the Chatti, were either harassed or subjugated by Drusus. The Chatti, it seems, had gone to join the Sugambri, having abandoned their own country, which the Romans had given them to dwell in. Afterwards Tiberius and Drusus returned to Rome with Augustus, who had been tarrying in Lugdunensis much of the time, keeping watch on the Germans from near at hand; and they carried out whatever decrees had been passed in honour of their victories or did whatever else devolved upon them.

5 See vol. ii. 477, and note.

abror Reim., abrur VM.

^{*} τῶς Rk., τῷς το VM.

Assystaville R. Steph., howydwrite VM.

Τάδε ένεστιν έν τῷ πεντηκοστῷ πέμπτφ τῶν Δίωνος "Ρωμπίκών

'Ωι Δρούσος ἀπέθαντν, Œ.

B. Os to Asopias Tiperos wastepoist.

'Ar +b 'Applexou xeller subsence. 7. De ve BieiBerdpiar 1 madiepedy.

'Or Tillipsor is 'Pádor drexáppor.

'εις ή Αλγούστου άγορά καθιερώθη.

Сл в той "Аргия наву в вы автії йо навирави. m. e. De Anteres Kaisap zal Páros Kaisap anidares.

Ο Αδγουστος Τιβέριου έτσιήσετο. 1-

'Ωε Αιουία παρήσεσεν Αθγούστη φιλανθρωπόσεραν Ερχείν. €

Περί των στρατοπέδων και ών οι τα στρατιωτικά χρήματα 3. бенейфонтез катептиран. 61-

Os of suntagulaxes natiornaus.

Os Achuarais cal Barrariois TiBepies evalennaer.

Χρόνου πλήθος έτη έπτακαίδεκα, έτ οξι άρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι mile dysports

Nover Manidies Tell. vi. Apolicar br. T. S Kuirstros T. vi. Kowskivas F. Maprios A. of. a Knew apiros for. F. 'Astronog' F. vi. Fdados Teβ. Kraidior Tiβ. vi. Nipus το β. Γν. 4 Καλσούρνιοι Γν. 7 wi. Πίσων* Δέκιμος Λαίλιος Δεκίμου vl. Βάλβος μπ. I. Arthorios F. of Oberes

¹ SigiBerapior Be., SeipiBerapior M.

² T. Ba., T. M. 2 A. vi. supplied by Ba. Asirnor Ba, agairus M. 2 Kanobior Xyl., ax M. Fr. supplied by H. Steph. Tr. H. Steph . 7 M.

The following is contained in the Fifty-fifth of Die's Rome:-

How Drusus died (chaps. 1, 2).

How the Precinct of Livia was dedicated (chap. S).

How the Campus Agrippae was dedicated (chap. S).

How the Diribitorium was dedicated (chap. 8).

How Tiberius retired to Rhodes (chap. 9).

How the Ferum of Augustus was dedicated (lacking).

How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated (chap. 10)

How Lucius Caesar and Gaius Caesar died (chap. 10 a). How Augustus adopted Tiberius (chap. 13).

How Livia urged Augustus to rule more mercifully (chaps. 14-21).

About the legious and how men were appointed to manage the military funds (chaps, 23-25).

How the night-watchmen were appointed (chap. 26).

How Tiberius fought against the Dalmatians and Panuonians (chaps. 29-34).

Duration of time, seventeen years, in which there were the magistrates (consula) here enumerated :-

B.4.

- Nere Claudius Ti. F. Drusns, T. Quinctius T. F. Crispinus.
- S. C. Marcius L. F. Censorinus, C. Asinjus C. F. Gallus.
- Ti. Claudius Ti. F. Nero (II), Cn. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
- 6 Decimus Lacinus Decimu P. Balbus, C. Antistius C. F. Votos.

* Gr. supplied by Ba

[&]quot; Mowe Barghesi, elowe to beurepor M.

AGNOUGTOS TO BE A. Regridator II. pl. Zohhas Fr. F. Kalovigras F. ul. ZaBiroz A. Hagosipes . . . vl. Povoor | br. Α. Τ Κορνήλιος Α. μέ. Λευτούλος M. Obalipus M. vi. Mesodias Mesoglipus is. ASYGUATOS TO LY M. HAgórios M. ol. Libouards on. Κόσσος Κορνήλιος Γν. οδ Λενταύλος 200 Α. Καλπούργιος Γν. νί. Πίσων Γ. Καίσπο Αύγούστου * υί. ψπ. A. Aluikies A. of. Hankor II. Obselvior M. vi. Π. "Αλφηνος" Π. ω. Οδάρος θε." A. Alkon' A. ol. Anglar 10 M. Zepoplator 11 M. pl. Zefroz Afaios II K. vi. Karon C. Derrios C. vi. Zaroupriros 12 Dr. A. Obaképios Horitov vi. Messákas Obákaisos 14 8-14 Γν. Κορνήλιος Α. οί. Κίννας Μάγνος M. AigiAios A. al. Airidot for Α. Αρρούντιας Δ. υ. ADA. 18 Austrios ADA. vi. 17 Népowas 18 Zikiards 18 6= 22 K. Kamilion W. K. vi. " Mereddes Konrieds M. Poopror 23 M. 24 pl. Kduckker Lit. Narios ™ P. vi. 28 KuiptiAmpés öx.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπί τε τοῦ Ἰούλλου το Αντωνίου καὶ ἐπὶ Φαβίου Μαξίμου ὑπάτων ἐγένετο. τῷ δὲ ἐχομένω ἔτει ὁ Δροῦσος μετὰ Τίτου Κρισπίνου

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A. Kaprikkus . . . il. Parpos supplied by Xyl. and Ba.
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A. supplied by R. Steph.

Mergalivos Mommsen, & Mergalivos M.

* Αύγούστου Reim., αδγουστος του Μ.

Observes Ba, obselmos à acroomes M. M. Xyl., r. M.

Τ 'Αλφήνος Βα., άλφήνος ή άλφήνιος Μ.

Obapos Dr. Bo., or obapos M.

A AYAIOS R. Steph., rainos M. 10 Aquias R. Steph., rasias M. 11 Depundres R. Steph., rasouther M. 12 Africa Bs., aluines M.

Zaresprires Leunch, oursprirer M.

Oĉóλαισον Xyl., οὐάλαισον Μ.
 ¹⁸ ör. supplied by Ba.
 Ača, Ba., αčaoν Μ.

- Mis.
 - 5 Augustus (XII), L. Cornelius P. F. Sulla.
 - 4 C. Calvisius C. F. Sabinus (II), L. Passienna . . . F. Rufus.
 - L. Cornelius L. F. Lentulus, M. Valerius M. F. Messalla Messallinus.
 - 2 Augustus (XIII), M. Plautius M. F. Silvanus.
 - Cossus Cornelius Cn. F. Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Cn. F. Piso.
- 1 C. Caesar Augusti F., L. Aemilius L. F. Paulus.
 - 2 P. Vinicius M. F., P. Alfenns P. F. Varus.
- 3 L. Aelius L. F. Lamia, M. Servilius M. F.
- 4 Sextus Aelius Q. F. Catus, C. Sentius C. F. Saturmanus.
- 5 L. Valerius Potiti F. Messalla Volesus, Cn. Cornelius L. F. Cinna Magnus.
- 6 M. Asmilius L. F. Lepidus, L. Arrentius L. F.
- A. Licinius A. F. Nerva Silianus, Q. Caecilius Q. F. Motellus Creticus.
- M. Furius M.¹ F. Camillus, Sex. Nonius C. F. Quintilianus.

THE events related happened in the consulship of ROW Iulius Antonius and Fabius Maximus. In the following year Drusus became consul with Titus Crispinus.

Or P., if we follow the form given in the Fosti Capitolini.

10 Nikmrés Be., stappes M. 20 K. Kassikies Xyl., s' amates M. 21 K. el. supplied by Bs.

The pl. supplied by Ba The poopers M.

Instead of M. ol. Bs. would read H. ol. See Fasti Capital.

25 Núrcos H. Steph., várrios M.

28 A. of Leunel., 7. of M. 27 TouAsov Bs., iouhiou M. 28 The words rawrs . . . eyévero appear at the end of liv. in

VM; Bk. placed here. V breaks off at this point; cf. pref. to vol. i. p. xxv.

IT Adx. of supplied by Bs. 10 Népovas R. Stoph., observas M.

ύπάτευσε, και αυτώ σημεία ούκ άγαθά συνηνένθη. πολλά μεν γάρ και άλλα και γειμώνι και κεραυνοίς. πολλοί δέ και ναοί έφθάρησαν, ώστε και τον του Διός του Καπιτωλίου των τε συννάων αυτού κα-2 κωθήναι, οδ μέντοι και έφροντισέ τι αδτών, άλλ' ές τε την των Χάττων έσεβαλε και προηλθε μέγρι της Σουηβίας, την τε έν ποσίν ούκ άταλαιπώρως γειρούμενος καὶ τοὺς προσμιγνύντας οι οὐκ άναιμωτί κρατών, κάντεύθεν πρός τε την Χερουσκίδα! μετέστη, και τον Οὐίσουργου διαβάς ήλασε ι μέχρι του 'Αλβίου, πάντα πορθών. Εκείνον γάρ (ρεί δε έκ των Ουανδαλικών όρων, και ές τον ωκεανου του προσάρκτιου πολλώ μεγέθει έκδί. δωσιν) έπεγείρησε μεν περαιωθήναι, ουκ ήδυνήθη δέ, άλλα τρόπαια στήσας ανεχώρησε γυνή γαρ τις μείζων ή κατά άνθρώπου φύσιν άπαντήσασα αύτω έφη "ποι δήτα ἐπείγη. Δρούσε ἀκόρεστε; ού πάντα σοι ταύτα ίδειν πέπρωται. άλλ ἄπιθικαι γάρ σοι και των έργων και του βίου τελευτή 4 ήδη πάρεστι." θαυμαστόν μέν ούν το τινα φωνήν παρά -οῦ δαιμονίου τοιαύτην τω γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι και ἀπιστείν έχω παραχρήμα γαρ ἀπέβη. σπουδή τε ύποστρέψαντος αύτοῦ και ἐν τὴ όδω νόσω τινί, πρίν έπὶ τον 'Ρήνον έλθειν, τελευτήο σαυτος, και μοι τεκμηριοί το λεχθέν ότι και λύκοι περί το στρατόπεδον υπό τον θάνατον αύτου περινοστούντες ώρύοντο, καὶ νεανίσκοι δύο δια μέσου του ταφρεύματος διιππεύοντες ώφθησαν, θρήνος τέ τις γυναικείος ήκούσθη, και άστέρων διαδρομαί εγένοντο.

[·] Χερουσκίδα Βk., χειρουσκίαν Μ. · Οδίσσυσγον Reim., οδοίσουγγον Μ.

and omens occurred that were anything but favour- ac. " able to him. Many buildings were destroyed by storm and by thunderbolts, among them many temples; even that of Jupiter Capitolinus and the gods worshipped with him was injured. Drusus, however, paid no heed to any of these things, but invaded the country of the Chatti and advanced as far as that of the Suebi, conquering with difficulty the territory traversed and defeating the forces that attacked him only after considerable bloodshed. From there be proceeded to the country of the Cherusci, and crossing the Visurgis, advanced as far as the Albis,1 pillaging everything on his way. The Albis rises in the Vandalic Mountains.2 and empties. a mighty river, into the northern ocean. Drusus undertook to cross this river, but failing in the attempt, set up trophies and withdrew. For a woman of superhuman size met him and said: "Whither, pray, art thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt look upon all these lands. But depart; for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life is already at hand." It is indeed marvellous that such a voice should have come to any man from the Deity, yet I cannot discredit the tale; for Drusus immediately departed, and as he was returning in haste, died on the way of some disease before reaching the Rhine. And I find confirmation of the story in these incidents: wolves were prowling about the camp and howling just before his death; two youths were seen riding through the midst of the camp; a sound as of women lamenting was heard; and there were shooting stars in the sky. So much for these events

¹ The Ellie. ² The Riesengebirge.

2 Ταθτα μέν οθτως έσχε, προπυθόμενος δ΄ ο Αυγουστος ότι νοσεί (ού γὰρ ἢν πόρρω), τὸν Τιβέριον κατά τάγος έπεμψε καί δς έμπνουν τε αυτόν κατέλαβε καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐκόμισε, τὰ μέν πρώτα μέγρι τοῦ γειμαδίου τοῦ στρατοῦ διά τε των έκατοντάρχων και διά των χιλιάρχων, έκείθεν δε διά των καθ' έκάστην πόλιν πρώτων 2 βαστάσας, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῆ ἀγορὰ προτεθέντος διπλούς ο έπιτάφιος έλέγθη ο τε γαρ Τιβέριος ένταυθα αυτόν έπήνεσε, και ο Αύγουστος έν τω Φλαμινίω ίπποδρόμω έξεστράτευτο γάρ, καὶ ούκ ήν οι όσιον μη ού τα καθήκοντα έπλ τοις κατειργασμένοις παρ αθτήν την είσω του πωμηρίου 3 έσοδον επιτελέσαι. και ο μεν ές τε το Αρειον πεδίον ύπο των ίππέων, των τε ές την ίππάδα άκριβώς τελούντων και των έκ του βουλευτικού γένους όντων, ηνέχθη, κάνταθθα πυρί δοθείς ές το τού Αύγούστου μνημείον κατετέθη, Γερμανικός τε μετά των παίδων επονομασθείς, και τιμάς και είκουων και άψίδος κενοταφίου τε πρός αυτώ τω 'Ρήνω λαβών.

4 'Ο δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τῶν τε Δελματῶν καὶ τῶν Παυνονίων ὑποκινησάντων τι αὐθις ζῶντος ἔτι αὐτοῦ κρατήσας, τά τε ἐπὶ τοῦ κέλητος ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίω τοὺς ὅ ἄλλοθι πολλαχόθι ἐδείπνισε. κὰν τούτω καὶ ἡ Λιουία μετὰ τῆς Ἰουλίας τὰς γυναϊκας εἰστί-

Augustus, upon learning of Drusus' illness before acco it was far advanced (for he was not far off), had sent Tiberius to him in haste. Tiberius found him still breathing, and on his death carried the body to Rome, causing the centurions and military tribunes to carry it over the first stage of the journey,-as far as the winter quarters of the army, - and after that the foremost men of each city. When the body had been laid in state in the Forum, two funeral orations were delivered: Tiberius pronounced a culogy there in the Forum, and Augustus pronounced one in the Circus Flaminius. The emperor, of course, had been away on a campaign, and it was not lawful for him to omit the customary rites in honour of his exploits at the time of his entrance inside the pomerium.1 The body was borne to the Campus Martius by the knights, both those who belonged strictly to the equestrian order and those who were of senatorial family; then it was given to the flames and the ashes were deposited in the sepulchre of Augustus. Drusus, together with his sons, received the title of Germanicus, and he was given the further honours of statues, an arch, and a cenotaph on the bank of the Rhine itself.

Tiberius, while Drusus was yet alive, had overcome the Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had once more begun a rebellion, and he had celebrated the equestrian triumph, and had feasted the people, some on the Capitol and the rest in many other places. At the same time Livin, also, with Julia, had given a dinner to the women. And the same

A He could not return the customary thanks to the gods at this time because he was in mourning; hence he remained outside the pomerium until his period of mourning should be at an end.
* Cf. liv. 2, 5.
* The ovalio.

5 ασε, τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ Δρούσῳ ἡτοιμάζετο καὶ γε αὶ ἀνοχαὶ δεύτερον τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ τὰ νικητήρια ἐν ἐκείναις αὐτὸν ἐορτάσαι, γενήσεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν προαπώλετο, ἡ δὲ δὴ Λιουία εἰκόνων τε ἐπὶ παραμυθία ἔτυχε, καὶ ἔς τὰς μητέρας τὰς τρὶς ¹ τεκούσας ἐσεγράφη, οἰς γὰρ ᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἴτ' οὖν ἀνδρῶν εἴτε γυναικῶν, μὴ δῷ τοσαυτάκις τεκνῶσαι, τούτων τισὶν ὁ νύμος, πρότερον μὲν διὰ τῆς βουλῆς νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ τῶν τρὶς ² γεγεννηκότων δικαιώματα χαρίζεται, ῶστε σφᾶς μήτε τοῖς τῆς ἀπαιδίας ἐπιτιμίοις ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πολυπαιδίας 7 ἄθλα πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν καρποῦσθαι. καὶ αὐτὰ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ εύρἰσκονται,

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐστιν, ὁ δ' Λύγουστος τάς τε τῆς γερουσίας ἔδρας ἐν ῥηταῖς ἡμέραις γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν (ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν πρότερον ἀκριβῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτέτακτο καὶ τινες διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑστέριζον, δύο βουλὰς κατὰ μῆνα κυρίας ἀπέδειξεν, ὥστε ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπάναγκες, οῦς γε καὶ ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, συμφοιτᾶν καὶ ὅπως γε μηδ' ἄλλη μηδε-

τιν άν τίς τι αὐτοίς τελευτών καταλίπη λαμβά-

μία σκήψις της άπουσίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχη, προσέταξε μήτε δικαστήριου μήτ ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἐν ἐκείνω τῷ καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι), τόν τε ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐς τὴν κύρωσιν τῶν δογμάτων

1100 GL

t sels Leunel, se spir M. t sels supplied by Xyl.

festivities were being prepared for Drusus; even and the Feriae were to be held a second time on his account, so that he might celebrate his triumph on that occasion. But his untimely death upset these plans. To Livia statues were voted by way of consoling her and she was enrolled among the mothers of three children. For in certain cases, formerly by act of the senate, but now by the emperor's, the law bestows the privileges which belong to the parents of three children apon men or women to whom Heaven has not granted that number of children. In this way they are not subject to the penalties imposed for childlessness and may receive all but a few of the rewards offered for large families; and not only men but gods also may enjoy these rewards, the object being that, if any one leaves them a bequest at his death, they may receive it.2

So much for this matter. As to Augustus, he ordered that the sittings of the senate should be held on fixed days. Previously, it appears, there had been no precise regulation concerning them and it often happened that members failed to attend; he accordingly appointed two regular meetings for each month, so that they were under composition to attend,—at least those of them whom the law summoned,—and in order that they might have no other excuse for being absent, he commanded that no court or other meeting which required their attendance should be held at that time. He also fixed by law the number of senators necessary for

¹ See liii. 13, 2 and note

² Certain gods and goaldenes (see Ulpian xxii. 6) might legally be named as heirs, but it appears that they had to fulfil the same conditions as the other heirs.

άναγκαΐου καθ' έκαστου είδος αὐτών, ώς γε έν κεφαλαίοις είπειν, διενομοθέτησε, και τὰ ζημιώματα τοίς μη δι' εύλογον τινα αίτιαν της συνε-3 δρείας απολειπομένοις έπηύξησεν. έπειδή τε πολλα των τοιούτων ύπο του πλήθους των ύπευθύνων άτιμώρητα είωθε γίγνεσθαι, κληρούσθαί τε αύτούς εί συγνοί τούτο ποιήσειαν, καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ πέμπτον λαγόντα όφλισκάνειν αυτά έκέλευσε. τά τε όνόματα συμπάντων των βουλευώντων ές λεύκωμα άναγράψας έξέθηκε καὶ έξ έκείνου καὶ νῦν κατ' 4 έτος τούτο ποιείται. ταύτα μέν έπὶ τῆ τῆς συμφοιτήσεως αὐτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐπραξεν εί δ' οὐν ποτε έκ συντυγίας τινός μη συλλεγθείεν όσους ή χρεία έκάστοτε έκάλει (πλην γαρ ότι όσάκις αν αύτος ό αυτοκράτωρ παρή, έν γε 1 ταις άλλαις ήμέραις ές πάντα όλίγου το των άθροιζομένων πλήθος καί τότε και μετά ταθτα άκριβως έξητάζετο), έβουλεύοντο μέν και ή γε γνώμη συνεγράφετο, ού μέντοι καὶ τέλος τι ώς κεκυρωμένη ελάμβανεν, άλλα αθκτώριτας εγίγνετο, όπως φανερον το βού-5 λημα αὐτῶν ή, τοιούτον γάρ τι ή δύναμις τοῦ ονόματος τούτου δηλοί: έλληνίσαι γαρ αύτο καθάπαξ άδύνατον έστι. το δ' αυτό τούτο και εί ποτε έν τόπω τινί μη νενομισμένω η ημέρα μη καθηκούση, ή και έξω νομίμου παραγγέλματος. ύπο σπουδής ήθροίσθησαν, ή και εναντιωθέντων τινών δημάρχων το μεν δόγμα ούκ ήδυνήθη γενέσθαι, την δε δή γνώμην σφών ούχ υπέμενον άπο-

passing decrees, according to the several kinds of a.c. o decrees,-to state only the chief points of the matter; and he increased the fines of those who without good excuse staved away from the sessions. And since many such offences had regularly gone unpunished owing to the large number of those who were liable to punishment, he commanded that if many were guilty, they should draw lots and one out of every five, according as the lot should fall. should incur the fine. He had the names of all the senators entered on a tablet and posted; and this practice, originating with bim, is still observed each year. Such were the measures he took to compel the attendance of the senators; but if on any occasion, as the result of some accident, fewer assembled than the occasion demanded,-and it should he explained that at every session, except when the emperor himself was present, the number of those in attendance was accurately counted, both at that time and later, for practically every matter of business,-the senators would proceed with their deliberations and their decision would be recorded. though it would not go into effect as if regularly passed, but instead, their action was what was termed auctoritas, the purpose of which was to make known their will. For such is the general force of this word; to translate it into Greek by a term that will always be applicable is impossible. This same custom prevailed in case they ever assembled in baste at any but the usual place, or on any but the appointed day, or without a legal summons, or if by reason of the opposition of some of the tribunes a decree could not be passed and yet they were unwilling that their opinion should remain unknown;

κρυφθήναι, ένομίζετο και αυτή μετά ταυτα και ή κύρωσις κατά τὰ πάτρια ἐπίργετο καὶ ἡ ἐπίκλησις α ή τοῦ δόγματος ἐπεφέρετο. τοῦτό τε οὐν ἰσγυρώς έπι πλείστον τοις πάλαι τηρηθεν εξίτηλον τρόπου τινα ήδη γέγονε, καὶ τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ γάρ έκείνοι άγανακτί, σαντες ότι μηδεμίαν γνώμην, καίτοι τών δημάργων προτετιμημένοι, ές την Βουλήν ἐσέφερον, παρά μέν τοῦ Αύγούστου έλα-Βον αυτό ποιείν, ύπο δε δή του χρόνου άφηρε-Onoav.

Ταῦτά τε οὖν καὶ τάλλα ἃ¹ τότε ἐνομοθέτησεν, ἔς τε το συνέδριον έν λευκώμασι γεγραμμένα προέθηκε πρίν χρηματίσαι τι περί αύτων, και τοίς Βουλευταίς μεθ' ένος έτέρου έσελθούσιν άναγνώνας έπέτρεψεν, όπως άν τι μη άρεση αυτούς ή και έτερον τι βέλτιον συμβουλεύσαι δυνηθώσιν είπω-2 σιν. ούτω γάρ που δημοκρατικός ήξίου είναι ώστε τινός τών συστρατευσαμένων ποτέ αὐτώ συνηγορήματος παρ' αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος το μέν πρώτου των φίλων τινά, ώς και έν άσχολία ών, συνειπείν αὐτώ κελεύσαι, επειτ' επειδή εκείνος όργισθείς έφη "έγω μέντοι, όσάκις έπικουρίας χρείαν έσχες, ούκ άλλον τινά άντ' έμαυτου σοι έπεμψα, άλλ' αύτος πανταχού προεκινδύνευσά σου," ές τε το δικαστήριον έσελθείν και συνηγορή-3 σαί οί. φίλω τέ τινι δίκην φεύγοντι συνεξητάσθη,

προεπικοινώσας αυτό τούτο τή γερουσία και έκει. νόν τε έσωσε, και τον κατήγορον αυτού ουχ όπως

A supplied by Rk.

afterwards the resolution would be ratified according a.c. ? to established precedent and would receive the name of a decree.1 This method, strictly followed for a long period by the men of old time, has in a way already become null and void, as has also the special privilege of the practors. For they, becoming indignant that they could bring no proposal before the

senate, though they outranked the tribunes, received from Augustus the right to do so, but in the course

of time were deprived of it.

These and the other laws which Augustus enacted at this time he had inscribed on tablets and posted in the senate before bringing them up for consideration, and he allowed the senators to enter the chamber in groups of two and read them, so that if any provision did not please them, or if they could advise anything better, they might speak. He was very desirous indeed of being democratic, as one or two incidents will illustrate. Once, when one or those who had campaigned with him asked him for his assistance as advocate, though he at first pretended to be busy and bade one of his friends speak in the man's behalf, yet when the petitioner became angry and said, "But I, whenever you had need of my assistance, did not send some one else to you in place of invself, but personally encountered dangers everywhere in your behalf," the emperor then entered the court-room and pleaded his friend's cause. He also stood by a friend who was defendant in a suit, after having first communicated his purpose to the senate; and he saved his friend, but was so far from being angry with the friend's ac-

It was now a senutus consultum, and no longer merely senatus aurtoritas.

δι' οργής έσχε καίπερ πάνυ πολλή παρρησία χρησάμενου, άλλα και εὐθυνόμενου ἐπὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἀφήκευ, εἰπὼν ἄντικρυς ἱ ὅτι ἀναγκαία σφίσιν ή παρρησία αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίαν εἰη. ἄλλους γε μὴν ἐπιβουλεύειν οι μηνυθέντας 4 ἐκόλασε. και ταμίας ἔν τε τῆ παραλία τῆ πρὸς τῆ πόλει καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις τισὶ τῆς Ἱταλίας χωρίοις ἄρχειν ἐποίησε και τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο.

Τότε μὲν οὖν οὖκ ἡθέλησεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸν ὅ τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον, ἄσπερ εἶπον, ἐσελθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἔτει, ἐν ῷ Ασίνιὸς τε Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτευσαν, τὴν τε ἄφιξιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὴν δάφυην ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Φερετρίου παρὰ τὸ

2 νομιζόμενον ἐσήνεγκε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐορτὴν ἡγαγε, πολὺ πλεῖον ἐν τῶ τοῦ Δρούσου ὀλέθρω ἐζημιῶσθαι ἡ ἐν ταῖς νίκαις ὡφελῆσθαι νομίζων οἱ δὲ δὴ ὕπατοι τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεται ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἐκ

3 των αίχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀλλήλοις συνέβαλον, και εκ μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁ Λύγουστος, αἰτιαθέντων καὶ ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχύντων ὡς ἐκ δεκασμοῦ τινος ἀποδεδειγμένων, τοῦτο μὲν οὕτε ἐξήλεγξεν οὕτ' ἀρχὴν προσεποιήσατο εἰδέναι οὕτε γὰρ κολάσαι τινὰς οὕτ' αἴ συγγνῶναι ἐλεγχθεῖσιν ἡθέλησεν τοὺς δὲ δὴ σπουδαρχιῶντας χρήματα πρὸ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ὥσπερ τι ἐνέχυρον προήτησεν, ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι ἡ στερηθῆναι

¹ arrappe is omitted in M, but has been added in the margin by an early corrector who indicates its place as between sixty and fra.

cuser, though this man had indulged in the utmost u.c. v frankness in his speech, that later on, when the same man appeared before him, as censor, for a scrutiny of his morals, the emperor acquitted him, saying openly that the other's frankness was necessary for the Romans on account of the baseness of the majority of them. However, he punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him. He also caused quaestors to serve along the coast near the city and in certain other parts of Italy; and this practice was followed for many years.

At the time in question he was unwilling, as I have stated,1 to enter the city because of Drusns' death; but the next year, when Asinius Gallus and a.c. 8 Gains Marcius were consuls, he made his formal return and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He himself did not celebrate any festival in honour of the achievements mentioned, feeling that he had lost far more in the death of Drusus than he had gained in his victories; but the consuls performed the ceremonies usual on such occasions, among other things exhibiting combats between some of the captives. And later, when both they and the rest of the officials were accused of having secured their election by bribery, Augustus failed to investigate the matter, and furthermore pretended not even to know of it at all : for he was unwilling either to punish any of them or yet to pardon them if they were convicted. In the case of candidates for office, however, he demanded of them in advance of the elections a deposit of money on the understanding that they should forfeit this money in case they resorted to

In chap. 2.

4 των δεδομένων. και τούτο μεν πάντες επήνεσαν ότι δ' ούκ έξου ου δούλου κατά δεσπότου βασανισθήναι εκέλευσεν, οσάκις αν χρεία τοιούτου τινός γένηται, τω δημοσίω αυτών ή και έαυτω πιπράσκεσθαι, όπως ώς άλλότριος του κρινομένου ών έξετάζηται, οί μεν ήτιωντο, ότι ο νόμος τη του δεσπότου μεταλλαγή καταλύεσθαι έμελλευ, οι δ' άναγκαίου αύτὸ έφασκου είναι, ότι πολλοί διά τούτο και έπ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνο και ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀργαῖς συνίσταυτο.

Μετά δὲ δὴ ταῦτα τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν, καίπερ άφιείς, ώς έλεγεν, έπειδή τὰ δέκα έτη τὰ δεύτερα έξεληλύθει, άκων δήθεν αύθις υπέστη, και έπί τούς Κελτούς έστράτευσε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῆ οίκεια υπέμεινεν, ό δε δη Τιβέριος τον Ρήνον

2 διέβη. φοβηθέντες ούν αύτους οι βάρβαροι πλην των Συγάμβρων Επεκηρυκεύσαντο, και ούτε τότε έτυχου τινος (ο γάρ Αύγουστος ούκ έφη σφίσιν άνευ έκείνων σπείσεσθαι) ούθ ύστερον. έπεμψαν

3 μέν γάρ και οι Σύγαμβροι? πρέσβεις, τοσούτου δε ιδέησαν 3 διαπράξασθαί τι ώστε και έκείνους πάντας, καὶ πολλούς καὶ ελλογίμους δυτας, προσαπολέσθαι δ τε γάρ Αύγουστος συλλαβών αὐτοὺς ἐς πόλεις τινὰς κατέθετο, καὶ ἐκείνοι δυσανασχετήσαντες έαυτούς κατεχρήσαντο. κάκ τούτου χρόνον μέν τινα ήσύχασαν, έπειτ' έπὶ πολλώ το πάθημά σφων τοις Ρωμαίοις άνταπέ-

3 484 goas U., 48 chonone M.

Συγαμβρου Bucher, καντάμβρων Μ, καντάβρων Un,
 Σύγαμβροι Reim., σύγγαμβροι M and Co.

any illegal methods. This action of his was approved no. 8 by all; but it was otherwise with another of his laws. As it was not permitted that a slave should be tortured for evidence against his master, he ordered that, as often as the necessity for such a course should arise, the slave should be sold either to the state or to him, in order that, being now no longer the property of the defendant, he might be examined. Some found fault with this, on the ground that the change of masters would in effect nullify the law; but others declared it to be necessary, because many were taking advantage of the old arrangement and conspiring against both the

emperor himself and the magistrates.

After this, now that his second period of ten years had expired, Augustus once more accepted the supreme power,-though with a show of reluctance, -in spite of his oft-expressed desire to lay it down ; and he made a campaign against the Germans. himself remained behind in Roman territory, while Tiberius crossed the Rhine. Accordingly all the barbarians except the Sugambri, through fear of them, made overtures of peace; but they gained nothing either at this time,-for Augustus refused to conclude a truce with them without the Sugambri, -or, indeed, later. To be sure, the Sugambri also sent envoys, but so far were they from accomplishing anything that all these envoys, who were both many and distinguished, perished into the bargain. For Augustus arrested them and placed them in various cities; and they, being greatly distressed at this, took their own lives. The Sugambri were thereupon quiet for a time, but later they amply requited the Romans for their calamity.

4 δοσαν, ό δ' ούν Αύγουστος τούτό τε ούτως έποίησε, και τοίς στρατιώταις άργύριου, ούχ ώς καὶ κεκρατηκόσι, καίτοι τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δνομα καὶ αὐτὸς λαβών καὶ τῷ Τιβερίω δούς, άλλ ότι του Γάιου εν ταίς γυμυασίαις τότε πρώτου συνεξεταζόμενου σφισιν έσχου, έχαρίσατο.

5 τον δ' ούν Υιβέριου ές την του αυτοκράτορος άρχην άντι του Δρούσου προαγαγών τη τε έπικλησει έκείνη έγαύρωσε και υπατον αύθις άπέδειξε, γράμματά τε κατά το άρχαιον έθος, και πρίν ές την άρχην έσελθείν, εκθείναι πρός το κοινον εποίησε, και προσέτι και τοις επινικίοις

ε εσέμνυνεν αύτος γάρ εκείνα μεν ούκ ήθελησε πέμψαι, ές δὲ δὴ τὰ γενέθλια ἐπποδρομίαν ἀίδιον έλαβε. τά τε του πωμηρίου όρια επηύξησε, καὶ τον μήνα του Σεξτίλιον επικαλούμενου Αύγου-

7 στον άντωνόμασε των γάρ άλλων τον Σεπτέμ-Βριου ούτως, ἐπειδήπερ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγεγέννητο, προσαγορεύσαι έθελησάντων έκείνου αυτού προετίμησεν, ότι καὶ ύπατος έν αυτώ το πρώτον απεδέδεικτο και μάχας πολλάς και μεγάλας everennet.

Επί μέν οδη τούτοις έγαυρούτο, του δέ δή Μαικήνου τελευτήσαντος ήλγησε. πολλά μέν γάρ και άλλα άπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώνητο, όθεν καίπερ ιππεί αυτώ όντι και το άστυ επι πολύν χρόνου έπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δε όσάκις άκρατοτέρω τω θυμφ έχρητο της τε γαρ οργής αυτον άει παρέ-2 λυε και ές το ήπιωτερον μεθίστη. τεκμήριου δέ,

δικάζουτί ποτε αυτώ προσστάς, και ίδων ότι

μῆνα R. Steph., μὶν μῆνα M.
 ἀ al comitted by M, but added in margin by early corrector.

Besides doing this, Augustus granted money to REE the soldiers, not as to victors, though he himself had taken the title of imperator and had also conferred it upon Tiberias, but because then for the first time they had Gaius taking part with them in their exercises. So he advanced Tiberius to the position of commander in place of Drusus, and besides distinguishing him with the title of imperator, appointed him consul once more, and in accordance with the ancient practice caused him to post up a proclamation before entering upon the office. He also accorded him the distinction of a triamph; for he did not wish to celebrate one himself, though he accepted the privilege of having his birthday permanently commemorated by Circensian games. He enlarged the pomerium and changed the name of the month called Sextilis to August. The people generally wanted September to be so named, because he had been born in that month; but he preferred the other month in which he had first been elected consul and had won many great battles.1

All these things filled him with pride; but he was grieved at the death of Maccenas. He had received many benefits at his hands, for which reason he had entrusted him, though but a knight, with the oversight of the city for a long period; but he had found him of especial service on occasions when his own temper was more or less uncontrollable. For Maccenas would always banish his anger and bring him to a gentler frame of mind. Here is an instance. Maccenas once came upon him as he was holding court, and seeing that he was on the point

² Cf. Suet., Aug. 31.

πολλούς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μέν διώσασθαι τούς περιεστηκότας καὶ έγγύς οί προσελθείν, μη δυνηθείς δε έγραψεν ές γραμματείον " ἀνάστηθι ήδη ποτέ, δήμιε," καὶ αὐτὸ ώς καὶ ἔτερόν τι ἔχον ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ έρριψεν, ώστ' έκείνου μήτ' αποκτείναι τινα καί 3 εύθὺς ἐξαναστήναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἡγανάκτει τοῖς τοιούτοις, άλλα και έχαιρεν ότι όσα αὐτὸς ὑπό τε τής έαυτου φύσεως και ύπο τής των πραγμάτων άνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσήκον έθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα 4 τη των φίλων παρρησία διωρθούτο. μέγιστον δ' οθυ και έκεινο της του Μαικήνου άρετης δείγμα ήν, ότι τῷ τε Αὐγούστω, καίτοι προς τὰς όρμὰς αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, οκείωτο και τοις άλλοις πάσιν ήρέσκετο, πλείστου τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθείς, ώστε πολλοίς και τιμάς και άρχας δούναι, ούκ έξεφρόνησεν άλλα έν 1 τω των ίππέων τέλει κατε-5 βίω. τούτων τε ούν ένεκα ίσχυρως αύτον ό Αύγουστος ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῆ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατέλεπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλην έλαχίστων ἐποιήσατο αν τέ τινι των φίλων αυτού δουναί τι έθελήση αν τε καὶ μή. τοιούτος μέν ὁ Μαικήνας έγένετο, καὶ 6 ούτω τῷ Λύγούστω έχρῆτο· πρώτός τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῆ πόλει κατεσκεύασε,

of condemning many people to death, he attempted ac. to push his way through the bystanders and get near him. When he was unable to do this, he wrote on a tablet, "Pray rise at last, executioner!" Then he threw the tablet into the lap of Augustus, as if it contained some indifferent matter, and the emperor imposed no death sentences, but arose and departed. Indeed, he not only was not displeased at such liberties, but was actually glad of them, because whenever he was led into unseemly outbursts of passion by his natural disposition or by the stress of his affairs, these were corrected by the frank speech of his friends. This also was a supreme proof of Maccenas' excellence, that he not only made himself liked by Augustus, in spite of resisting his impulsiveness, but also pleased everybody else, and though he had the greatest influence with the emperor, so that he bestowed offices and honours upon many men, vet he did not lose his poise, but was content to remain in the equestrian order to the end of his life. Not only for these reasons, then, did Augustus regret his loss exceedingly, but also because Maccenas, although vexed at the emperor's relations with his wife, had left him as his heir and had empowered him to dispose of all his property, with very few reservations, in case he wished to make gifts to any of his friends or otherwise. Such was the character of Maccenas and such was his treatment of Augustus. He was the first to construct a swimming-pool of warm water in the city, and also the first to devise a system of symbols to give speed in writing,1 and

This invention is usually ascribed to Tiro, Cicero's freedman; and Aquila is said to have made improvements upon his system.

ίξευρε, καὶ αυτά διὰ Ακύλου ἀπελευθέρου συ-

grove efectionte.

8 Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῆ νουμηνία ἐν ἥ ὑπατεύειν μετὰ Γναίου Πίσωνος ἤρξατο ἔς τε τὸ Ὀκταονίειον τὴν βουλὴν ἤθροισε διὰ τὸ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου

- την βουλήν ήθροισε διὰ τὸ έξω τοῦ πωμηρίου 2 αὐτὸ είναι, καὶ τὸ 'Ομονόειον αὐτὸς έαντῷ ἐπισκευάσαι προστάξας, ὅπως τό τε ίδιον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δρούσου ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐπιγράψη, τὰ τε νικητήρια ήγαγε καὶ τὸ τεμένισμα τὸ Λίονιον ἀνομασμένον καθιέρωσε μετὰ τῆς μητρός καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῆν γερουσίαν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίω, ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς γυναῖτας ἰδία που είστίασε. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ῦστερον κινηθέντων τινῶν ἐν τῷ Γερμανία ἐξωρμήθη τὴν
- δε δή πανήγυριν την ύπερ της επανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου γενομένην ὁ Γάιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σὰν τῷ Πίσωνι διέθηκε. τό τε πεδίον τὸ 'Αγρίππειον, πλὴν τῆς στοᾶς, καὶ τὸ διριβιτώριου " αὐτὸς ὁ 4 Αὕγουστος ἐδημοσίευσε. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ (ἤν δὲ
- Αισγούστος εδημοσιεύσε. τουτο μέν γάρ (ήν δὲ οἰκος μέγιστος τῶν πώποτε μίαν ὁροφὴν σχώντων νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάσης τῆς στέγης αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθείσης, ὅτι οὐκ ἡδυνήθη αὐθις συστῆναι, ἀχανής ἐστιν) ὅ τε ᾿Αγρίππας οἰκοδομούμενον κατέλιπε, καὶ τότε συνετελέσθη ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίω στού, ἡν ἡ Πώλλα ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ καὶ τοὺς δρύμους
- 5 διακοσμήσασα ἐποίει, οὐδέπω ἐξείργαστο, κάν τούτω καὶ αὶ ἐπιτάφιοι ἐπὶ τῷ Αγρίππα ὁπλομαχίαι, φαιὰν ἐσθῆτα τῶν τε ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν υίἐων αὐτοῦ λαβόντων.

2 al Dind., el M.

¹ Octavision Dind., deraccion M. 2 BipiBirápion Bk., SeipiBirápion M.

he used Aquila, a freedman, to train a considerable ac. a

number in the system.

Tiberius on the first day of the year in which he was e.c.? consul with Gnacus Piso convened the senate in the Curia Octaviae, because it was outside the pomerium. After assigning to himself the duty of repairing the temple of Concord, in order that he might inscribe upon it his own name and that of Drusus, he celebrated his triumph, and in company with his mother dedicated the precinct called the precinct of Livis. He gave a banquet to the senate on the Capitol, and she gave one on her own account to the women somewhere or other. A little later, when there was some disturbance in the province of Germany, he took the field. The festival held in honour of the return of Augustus was directed by Gaius, in place of Tiberius, with the assistance of Piso. The Campus Agrippae and the Diribitorium were made public property by Augustus himself. The Diribitorium was the largest building under a single roof ever constructed;1 indeed, now that the whole covering has been destroyed, the edifice is wide open to the sky, since it could not be put together again. Agrippa had left it still in process of construction, and it was completed at this time. The portico in the Campus, however, which was being built by Polla, Agrippa's sister, who also adorned the racecourses, was not yet finished. Meanwhile the funeral combats in honour of Agrippa were given, all except Augustus putting on black clothing and even Agrippa's sons doing the same. There were not

¹ The Diribitorium was used for the sorting (diribere) of the ballots used in voting. Pliny (Nat. Hist. xvi. 201 and xxxvi. 102; speaks of its remarkable roof; this was destroyed by fire in 80 a.p. (cf. Dio, lxvi. 24).

καὶ ένὸς πρός ένα και πλειόνων πρός ίσους, έν τοῖς σέπτοις διά τε την ές του Αγρίππαν τιμην και διά το πολλά των περί την άγοραν οικοδομημάτων κε-6 καθοθαι, έγένοντο, και το μέν του πυρος αίτιον ές τούς γρεωφείλας άνεφέρετο, ώς και επίτηδες αύτὸ παρασκευάσαντας ίν άποκοψωσί τι των χρεών, συχνά δόξαντες έζημιωσθαι έτυγον δέ έκείνοι μέν ούδενός, οί δε δή στενωποί επιμελητών τινων έκ τοῦ δήμου, οὺς καὶ στενωπάρχους καλοῦτ μεν καί σφισι και τη εσθητι τη άρχικη και ραβδούγοις δύο, εν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ών αν άρχωσιν, ημέραις τισὶ χρησθαι ἐξόθη, η τε δουλεία ή τοῦς άγορανόμοις των έμπιμπραμένων ένεκα συνούσα επετράπη, καίτοι και έκείνων και τών δημάρχων τών τε στρατηγών πάσαν την πόλιν, δεκατέσσαρα 1 μέρη νεμηθείσαν, κλήρω προσταχθέντων δ και νῦν γύγνεται.

9 Τοσαύτα μέν έν τῷ ἔτει τοὐτῷ ἐπράχθης ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῆ Γερμανία οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβης τῷ δὲ ὑστέρῳ, ἐν ῷ Γάιὸς τε 'Αιτίστιος καὶ Λαίλιος Βάλβος ὑπάτευσαν, ἱδὼν ὁ Αὐγουστος τόν τε Γάιον καὶ τὸν Λούκιον αὐτούς τε μὴ πάνυ, οἰα ἐν ἡγεμονία τρεφομένους, τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἤθη ζηλοϋντας (οὐ γὰρ ὅτι άβρότερον διῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθρασύνοντος ἐς γοῦν τὸ θέατρόν ποτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν 2 ὁ Λούκιος ἐσῆλθε) καὶ πρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῆ

1 Sexariocapa R. Steph., Sexariocepa M.

ROOK LY

only combats between single champions but also ac. ? between groups of equal numbers on either side : and they were held in the Saepta both as an honour to Agrippa and because many of the structures around the Forum had been burned. The blame for the fire was laid upon the debtor class, who were suspected of having contrived it on purpose, in order that they might have some of their debts remitted when they appeared to have lost heavily. They, for their part, however, gained nothing from the fire; but the streets were put in charge of supervisors, chosen from the people, whom we call street commissioners. These men were allowed to use the official dress and two lictors, but only in the regions under their administration and on certain days, and they were given control over the force of slaves which had previously been associated with the aediles to save buildings that caught fire. The aediles, however, together with the tribunes and practors, were still assigned by lot to have charge of the whole city, which was divided into fourteen wards. This is also the present arrangement.

These were all events of that year, for nothing worthy of mention happened in Germany. The next and year, in which Gaius Antistius and Laelius Balbus were consuls, Augustus was vexed when he saw that Gaius and Lucius were by no means inclined of their own choice to emulate his own conduct, as became young men who were being reared as members of the imperial house. They not only indulged in too great luxury in their lives, but were also inclined to insolence; for example, Lucius on one occasion entered the theatre unattended. They

1 Caratores viarum.

πολει, τὰ μέν γνώμη τὰ δὲ θεραπεία, κολακενο. μένους λάκ τούτου έτι και μάλλον θρυπτομένους! (τά τε γαρ άλλα και ύπατον τον Γάιον μηδέ ές έφήβους πω τελούντα προεχειρίσαντο), ήγανάκτησε, και προσεπηύξατο μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην καιρών ανάγκην όποία ποτέ αυτον κατέλαβε γενέσθαι, ώστε τινά νεώτερον είκοσιετούς ύπα-3 τεύσαι. ἐπειδή τε καὶ ὡς ἐνέκειντό οἱ, τότε ἔφη χρῆναί τινα την άρχην ταύτην λαμβάνειν, όταν μήτε τι αυτός άμαρτάνειν και ταίς του δήμου σπουδαίς 4 ανθίστασθαι δύνηται. και μετά τουθ ίερωσύνην μέν τινα αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον συμφοίτησιν το τε συνθεάσθαι και το συνεστιάσθαι τη βουλή έδωκε βουληθείς δε δή τρόπου τινά μάλλου αὐτοὺς σωφρονίσαι, τῷ Τιβερίω τήν τε έξουσίαν την δημαρχικήν ές πέντε έτη ένειμε και την Αρμενίαν άλλοτριουμένην μετά τον του Τιγράνου 3 θάνατον προσέταξε. συνέβη δ' αυτώ και έκείνοις και το Τιβερίφ μάτην προσκρούσαι, τοίς μέν ότι παρεωράσθαι έδοξαν, τω δε ότι την οργήν αυτών έφοβήθη. αμέλει και ές Ρόδον ώς και παιδεύσεώς τινος δεόμενος έστάλη, μήτ άλλους τινάς μήτε την θεραπείαν πάσαν έπαγόμενος, ϊν έκποδών σφισι και τη όψει και τοις έργοις γένηται. ε και τήν τε όδον ίδιωτικώς εποιήσατο, πλην καθ'

³ кодактицийного, вриттомичного Pflingk, кодактибиятог, вритто.

[·] τροεχειρίσαντο Rk., τροεχειρίσατο M.

² word Xiph., rore M.

Between release and (*A)per (chap. 10, 2) two folios have been lost in M. The text here given is a combination of the epitomes of Zon., Xiph., and the Excerpta Valesiana (see Introd. to Vol. I. xviii ff.).

were being flattered by everybody in the city, some- ac a times sincerely and sometimes to curry favour, and consequently were being spoiled more and more, Among other things of this sort, the people had elected Gaius consul before he was as yet of military All this, as I have said, vexed Augustus, and be even prayed that no compelling circumstances might arise, as had once occurred in his own case. such as to require that a man less than twenty years old should become consul. When even so the people insisted, he then said that one ought not to receive the office until one was able not only to avoid error oneself but also to resist the ardent impulses of the populace. After that he gave Gaius a priesthood and also the right to attend the meetings of the senate and to behold spectacles and be present at banquets with that body. And wishing in some way to bring Gaius and Lucius to their senses still more sharply, he bestowed upon Tiberius the tribunician power for five years, and assigned to him Armenia, which was becoming estranged since the death of Tigranes. The result was that he needlessly offended not only his grandsons but Tiberius as well; for the former felt they had been slighted, and Tiberius feared their anger. At any rate he was sent to Rhodes on the pretext that he needed incidentally a bit of instruction; and he did not even take his entire retinue, to say nothing of friends, the object being that Gaius and Lucius should be relieved both of the sight of him and of his doings. He made the journey as a private citizen, though he

^{*} rock supplied by scribe of L'.

Freque Riph, dwireige Zon.

^{*} spowerate Rk., spowife Xiph., spowrakipuser Zon.

δσον τοὺς Παρίους τὸ τῆς Εστίας ἄγαλμα πωλῆσαί οἱ ἠνώγκασεν, ὅπως ἐν τῷ 'Ομονοείοι
ἱδρυθῆς καὶ ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐλθὼν οὐτὰν ὀγκηρὸν
τοῦτε ἔπραττεν οὕτε ἔλεγεν. ἡ μὲν οὐν ἀληθεστάτη αἰτία τῆς ἐκδημίας αὐτοῦ τοιαὐτη ἐ ἐστί,
λόγον δέ τινα ἔχει καὶ διὰ τὴν γυναίκα τὴν
Τουλίαν, ὅτι μηκέτ αὐτὴν φέρειν ἐδύνατο, τοῦτο
ποιῆσαι κατέλιπε γοῦν αὐτὴν ἐν τῆ 'Ρώμη, οἰ
δὲ ἔφασαν χαλεπῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι μὴ καὶ Καῖσαρ
ἀπεδείχθη οἱ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λύγούστον ὡς καὶ
τοῖς παισίν αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἐκβληθῆναι.

8 ὅτι μἐν γὰρ οὕτε παιδείας ἔνεκα οὕτ ἀβουλήσας τὰ δεδογμένα ἀπεδήμησε, δῆλον ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπραξε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τὰς διαθήκας αὐτὸν εὐθὺς τότε² καὶ λῦσαι καὶ τῆ μητρὶ τῷ τε Αὐγούστω ἀναγνῶναι, ἐγένετο· κατεικάζετο πὰνθ' ὅσα ἐνεδέγετο.—Χίρh. 100, 18-30, Εχε. V. 177

(p. 662 sq.), Zon. 10, 35.

Τῷ δ΄ ἐφεξῆς ἔτει δωδέκατον ὑπατεύων ὁ Αὕγουστος εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους τὸν Γάιον ἔταξε καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἄμα εἰσήγαγε καὶ πρόκριτον ἀπέφηνε τῆς νεότητος ἵλαρχόν τε φυλῆς γενεσθαι

έπέτρεψε.- Zon. 10, 35,

10 Καὶ μετ' ἐνιαντὸν καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰς τιμὰς ὅσαι τῷ Γαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐδέδοντο ἐλαβεν. ἀθροισθέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἐπανορθωθῆναὶ τινα ἀξιοῦντος καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Αύγουστον πέμψαντος, ἤλθεν ἐκεῖνος καὶ περὶ ὡν ἐδέοντο σφίσι συνδιεσκέψατο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ ἤσθησαν ἄπαντες.—Ζου. 10, 35.

^{*} romére cod. Peir., romée Val. * roée Val., re roée cod. Peir. * roée ABO, roêre E.

exercised his authority by compelling the Parlans to acc sell him the statue of Vesta, in order that it might be placed in the temple of Concord; and when he reached Rhodes, he refrained from haughty conduct in both word and deed. This is the truest explanation or his journey abroad, though there is also a story that he took this course on account of his wife Julia. because he could no longer endure her; at any rate, she was left behind in Rome. Others said that he was angry at not having been designated as Caesar. and yet others that he was expelled by Augustus himself, on the ground that he was plotting against Augustus' sons. But that his departure was not for the sake of instruction nor because he was displeased at the decrees passed, became plain from many of his subsequent actions, and particularly by his opening his will immediately at that time and reading it to his mother and Augustus. But all possible conjectures were made.

The following year Augustus in the course of his account twelfth consulship placed Gaius among the youths of military age, and at the same time introduced him into the senate, declared him princeps investalis, and permitted him to become commander of a division of

cavalry.

And after the lapse of a year Lucius also obtained at all the honours that had been granted to his brother Gaius. On one occasion, when the people had gathered together and were asking that certain reforms be instituted and had sent the tribunes to Augustus for this purpose, the emperor came and consulted with them about their demands; and at this all were pleased.

10 'Ο δὲ Αὕγουστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου πληθος ἀδριστον ὁν ἔς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὡς γὲ τινες λέγουσι, καθ' ἔνα ἐξήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔδωκε.—Χiph. 100, 30-101, 1.

15 'Ως ή Αύγούστου άγορὰ καθιερώθη.—Index to

Bk. LV. 1. 6.

- 16 'Ως ὁ τοῦ 'Αρεως ναὸς ὁ ἐν αὐτῆ ὡν καθιερώθη. —Index to Bk. LV. 1. 7.
- 2 ... 'Αρει,' ἐαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὁσάκις ἀν ἐθελήσωσι, τούς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκεῖσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐκδήμους
- 3 στελλομένους έκειθεν άφορμάσθαι, τάς τε γνώμας τὰς περὶ τῶν νικητηρίων ἐκεῖ τὴν βουλὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας αὐτὰ τῷ "Αρει τούτῷ καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνατιθέναι, καὶ ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς ἐπιτικίους τιμὰς λαμβάνοντας ἐν τῆ ἀγορῆ χαλκοῦς
- τικιούς τιμάς λαμβανούτας εν τη άγορα χαλκούς ε ιστασθαι, αν τέ ποτε σημεία στρατιωτικά ες πολεμίους άλόντα άνακομισθη, ες τον ναον αυτά τίθεσθαι, και πανήγυρίν τινα πρός τοις άναβασμοίς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ἰλαρχούντων ² ποιείσθαι, ήλών τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητευσάντων
- 5 προσπήγυυσθαι, καὶ τήν τε παράσχεσιν τών ἶππων τῶν ἐς τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἀγωνιουμένων

3 inapyourres Bk., shapyourres M.

¹ stroboraumirou L', stroboumirou VC.

Augustus limited the number of people to be sup- ac a plied with grain, a number not previously fixed, to two hundred thousand; and, as some say, he distributed a largess of sixty denarii to each man.

[How the Forum of Augustus was dedicated.] How the Temple of Mars therein was dedicated.

. . . to Mars, and that he himself and his grandsons should go there as often as they wished, while those who were passing from the class of boys and were being enrolled among the youths of military age should invariably do so; that those who were sent out to commands abroad should make that their starting-point; that the senate should take its votes there in regard to the granting of triumphs, and that the victors after celebrating them should dedicate to this Mars their sceptre and their crown; that such victors and all others who received triumphal honours should have their statues in bronze erected in the Forum; that in case military standards captured by the enemy were ever recovered they should be placed in the temple; that a festival should be celebrated beside the steps of the temple by the cavalry commanders of each year; I that a nail should be driven into it by the censors at the close of their terms:" and that even senators should have the right of contracting to supply the horses that were to compete in the Circensian games, and also to take

The series equatum.

[&]quot;This custom is not elsewhere recorded in the case of the consors. In early times a nail was driven each year into the side of the cella of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, for the purpose of keeping official count of the years. After the practice had lapsed for a time, it was again revived on the occasion of great disasters or dangers, as a propitiatory rite, and a dictator was sometimes chosen for this sole purpose in the absence of both consuls.

και την του ναού φυλακήν και βουλευταίς έργολαβείν έξείναι, καθάπερ έπί τε του Απόλλωνος και έπι του Διός του Καπιτωλίου ένενομοθέτητο.

Επί μέν τούτοις το μέγαρον έκεινο ο Αύγουστος έθείωσε, καίτοι τώ τε Γαίω και τώ Λουκίω πάντα καθάπαξ τὰ τοιαυτα ιερούν ἐπιτρέψας ὑπατική τινι άρχη κατά τὸ παλαιὸν χρωμένοις. καὶ τήν γε ίπποδρομίαν αύτοι τότε διέθεσαν, τήν τε Τροίαν καλουμένην οι παίδες οι πρώτοι μετά τοῦ 7 Αγρίππου του άδελφου αυτών Ιππευσαν. καὶ λέοντες έξηκοντα και διακόσιοι έν τω ιπποδρόμω έσφάγησαν. όπλομαγία τε έν τοις σέπτοις και ναυμαχία έν το χωρίω έν ο και νύν έτι σημεία τινα αυτής δείκυυται Περσών και 'Αθηναίων έποιήθη: ταύτα γάρ τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ναυμαχούσιν 8 έτέθη, και ένικων και τότε οι Αθηναίοι. και μετά

τούτο ές τε του Φλαμίνιον ίπποδρομου ύδωρ έσηχθη, και έν αὐτώ κροκύδειλοι * έξ και τριάκουτα κατεκόπησαν. ού μέντοι και διά πασών τών ήμερών τούτων ὁ Αύγουστος ὑπάτευσεν, άλλ' έπ' ολίγον άρξας άλλω το όνομα της ύπατείας Ebwae.

Το μέν ουν Αρει ταυτ' έγένετο, αυτώ δε δη τώ Αυγούστω αγών τε ίερος εν Νέα πόλει τη Καμπανίδι, λόγφ μεν ότι κακωθείσαν αὐτην και ύπο σεισμού και ύπο πυρός άνελαβεν, το δ' άληθες έπειδή τὰ τῶν Ελλήνων μόνοι τῶν προσχώρων

10 τρόπου τινά εξήλουν, εψηφίσθη, και ή έπωνυμία ή του πατρός ἀκριβώς ἐδόθη- πρότερουγάρ άλλως

a abrar Morelli, abras M.

nourdenton H. Stepher, coproductor M.

BOOK LV

general charge of the temple, just as had been pro- at 2 vided by law in the case of the temples of Apollo

and of Jupiter Capitolinus.

These matters settled, Augustus dedicated this temple of Mars, although he had granted to Gaius and Lucius once for all the right to consecrate all such buildings by virtue of a kind of consular authority that they exercised in the time-bonoured manner. And they did, in fact, have the management of the Circensian games on this occasion, while their brother Agrippa took part along with the boys of the first families in the equestrian exercise called "Troy." Two hundred and sixty lions were slaughtered in the Circus. There was a gladiatorial combat in the Saepta, and a naval battle between the "Persians" and the "Athenians" was given on the spot where even to-day some relics of it are still pointed out. These, it will be understood, were the names given to the contestants; and the "Athenians" prevailed as of old. Afterwards water was let into the Circus Flaminius and thirty-six erocodiles were there slaughtered. Augustus, however, did not serve as consul during all these days, but after holding office for a short time, gave the title of the consulship to another.

These were the celebrations in honour of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest 1 was voted in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants, alone of the Campanians, tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks. He also was given the strict right to the title of "Father"; for hitherto he had

άνευ ψηφίσματος έπεφημίζετο, και μέντοι και έπαρχους τῶν δορυφύρων τότε πρώτον Κύαντόν τε 'Οστώριου Σκαπούλαν και Πούπλιου Σάλουιου "Απρον απέδειξεν" ούτω γάρ τοι αὐτούς καὶ έγω μόνους των επαρχύντων τινός, επειδήπερ εκνενί-11 κηκεν, ονομάζω. έποίησε μεν ούν και ο Πυλάδης ό δρχηστής παυήγυρίν τινα, ούκ αὐτός χειρουργήσας άτε καὶ ὑπέργηρως ών, άλλὰ τῆ τε σκευή τη άρχική και τοις άναλώμασιν, εποίησε δε και Κύμντος Κρισπίνος στρατηγός. λέγω δέ οὐ τοῦτο άλλ' ότι άνδρες τε ίππης και γυναίκες οὐκ άφανείς ές την δρχήστραν έπ' αυτού έσηχθησαν. 12 άλλα ταθτα μέν έν ούδενι λόγω ο Αθγουστος έτίθετο, την δε δη Ιουλίαν την θυγατέρα άσελγαίνουσαν ούτως ώστε καὶ ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ καὶ ἐπ' αύτου γε του βήματος και κωμάζειν νύκτωρ καὶ συμπίνειν όψέ ποτε φωράσας ύπερωργίσθη. 13 κατείκαζε μεν γαρ και πρότερου ούκ δρθώς αυτήν βιούν, ου μέντοι και έπίστευεν οι γάρ τοι τὰς ήγεμονίας έχοντες πάντα μάλλον ή τὰ σφέτερα γιηνώσκουσι, και ούτ αὐτοί τι τούς συνόντας ών ποιούσι λανθάνουσιν ούτε τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκρι-14 βούσι. τότε δ' ούν μαθών τὰ πραττόμενα τοσού-

¹⁴ βουσι. τότε ο ούν μαθών τὰ πραττόμενα τοσούτο θυμῷ έχρήσατο ὥστε μηδ' οἰκοι αὐτὰ κατασχεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆ γερουσία κοινῶσαι. κὰκ τούτου ἐκείνη μὲν ἐς Πανδατερίαν τὴν πρὸς Καμπανία νῆσον ὑπερωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῆ καὶ ἡ

abrà Rk., chròs M. abrès coll. Peir Xiph, Kauvaria Xiph., компагіят М.

merely been addressed by that title without the acformality of a decree. Moreover, he now for the first time appointed two prefects over the Practorians,1 Quintus Ostorius Scapula and Publius Salvius Aper, -for I, too, apply this name "prefect" solely to them, of all who exercise a similar office, inasmuch as it has won its way into general use. Pylades, the dancer, gave a festival, though he did not perform any of the work himself, since he was very old, but merely wore the insignia of office and provided the cost of the entertainment; and the practor Quintus Crispinus also gave one. I mention this only because it was on this occasion that knights and women of distinction were brought upon the stage. Of this, however, Augustus took no account; but when he at length discovered that his daughter Julia was so dissolute in her conduct as actually to take part in revels and drinking bouts at night in the Forum and on the very rostra, he became exceedingly angry. He had surmised even before this time that she was not leading a straight life, but refused to believe it. For those who hold positions of command, it appears, are acquainted with everything else better than with their own affairs; and although their own deeds do not escape the knowledge of their associates, they have no precise information regarding what their associates do. In the present instance, when Augustus learned what was going on, he gave way to a rage so violent that he could not keep the matter to himself, but went so far as to communicate it to the senate. As a result Julia was banished to the island of Pandateria,2 lying off Campania, and her mother Scribonia

Praefecti praetorio.

The modern Ventotene, between the Ponza islands and lachia.

15 Σκριβωνία ἡ μήτηρ ἐκοῦσα συνεξέπλευσε τῶν δὲ δὴ χρησαμένων αὐτῆ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλλος ἱ ὁ ² Αντώνιος, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ μοναρχία τοῦτο πράξας, ἀπέθανε μετ ἄλλων τινῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς υήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ δήμαρχός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡν, οὺ πρότερον πρὶν

10 διάρξαι εκρίθη. πολλών δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ άλλων γυναικών ἐφ' ὁμοίοις τισὶν αἰτίαν λαβουσών οὐ πάσας τὰς δίκας ἐδέξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνου τινὰ ἀφώρισεν ὅστε τὰ πρὰ ἐκείνου πραχθέντα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῆς θυγατρὸς μηδὲν μετριάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ φήσας ὅτι Φοίβης πατὴρ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκείνης γεγονέναι ἡθελε, τῶν ἄλλων ἐφείδετο. ἡ δὲ δὴ Φοίβη ἐξελευθέρα τε τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ συνεργὸς οὐσα προαπέθανεν ἐκουσία, διόπερ καὶ ὁ Αὐγουστος αὐτὴν ἐπήνεσε.

—Χὶρh, 101, 21-32, Εκε. V. 178, 179 (p. 665).

"Ότι Γάιος τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ πρὸς τῷ "Ιστρο εἰρηνικῶς ἐπήει πόλεμου γὰρ οὐδένα ἐπολέμησεν, ούχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἔν τε ἡσυχία καὶ ἀσφαλεία ἄρχειν ἐμάνθανεν, οἱ δὲ δὴ κίνδυνοι ἄλλοις προσετάσσοντο.—Εκς. V, 180

(p. 665).

18 Τῶν Αρμενίων δὲ νεωτερισάντων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων αὐτοῖς συνεργούντων ἀλγῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αὕγουστος ἡπόρει τὶ ἀν πράξη οὐτε γὰρ αὐτὸς στρατεῦσαι οἰός τε ἡν διὰ γῆρας, ὅ τε Τιβέριος, ὡς εἰρηται, μετέστη ἡδη, ἄλλον δέ τινα πέμψαι

a supplied by Bk.

^{1 &}quot;Loud Roy Bs., louds of M. cod. Peer Xiph.

Bletween år sal and éreges: (10 s. 1) two folios are lanking in M. Bajeta: Val., hisprasa; cod. Peir.

voluntarily accompanied her. Of the men who had are a enjoyed her favours, Iulius Antonius, on the ground that his conduct had been prompted by designs upon the monarchy, was put to death along with other prominent persons, while the remainder were banished to islands. And since there was a tribune among them, he was not tried until be had completed his term of office. As a result of this affair many other women, too, were accused of similar behaviour. but the emperor would not entertain all the suits: instead, he set a definite date as a limit and forbade all prying into what had occurred previous to that time. For although in the case of his daughter he would show no mercy, remarking that he would rather have been Phoebe's father than hers, he nevertheless was disposed to spare the rest. This Phoebe had been a freedwoman of Julia's and her accomplice, and had voluntarily taken her own life before she could be punished. It was for this that Augustus praised her.

Gaius assumed command of the legions on the s.c. I Ister with peaceful intent. Indeed, he fought no war, not because no war broke out, but because he was learning to rule in quiet and safety, while the dangerous undertakings were regularly assigned to

others.

When the Armenians revolted and the Parthians joined with them, Augustus was distressed and at a loss what to do. For he himself was not fit for campaigning by reason of age, while Tiberius, as has been stated, had already withdrawn, and he did not

" undir Xiph., at cod. Peir.

^{*} du vabras Exc. Val., om. Xiph.

[·] varip madder Xiph., madder warhe cod. Peir.

των δυνατών ούκ ετύλμα, ο Γάιος δι και ο Λούκιος νέοι και πραγμάτων έτύγχανον άπειροι. άνάγκης δ' έπικειμένης τον Γάιον είλετο, και την τε έξουσίαν αυτώ την άνθύπατον και γυναίκα έδωκεν. ίνα κάκ τούτου τι προσλάβη άξίωμα, καί οι και!

10 συμβούλους προσέταξε. και ο μεν αφωρμήθη εντίμως παρά πάντων υποδεχόμενος οία του αυτοκρατορος έγγουος ή και παίς νομιζόμενος, και ό Τιβέριος ές Χίου έλθων αύτον έθεράπευσε, τας ύποψίας αποτριβόμενος έταπείνου τε γαρ έαυτον και υπέπιπτεν ούχ ότι τω Γαίω, άλλά και 2 τοίς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐσι: ἀπελθων δὲ εἰς την Συρίαν καὶ μηδέν μέγα κατωρθωκώς ετρώθη.—Ζου. 10, 36, Xiph. 101, 32-102, 4.

"Ότι ώς έπύθοντο οι βάρβαροι την έπιστρα-23(1) τείαν του Γαίου, Φρατάκης επεμψε προς του Αύγουστον, ύπερ των γεγονότων απολογούμενος και τους άδελφους έπι είρηνη απαιτών και αυτώ έκεινος Φρατάκη ε άπλως ε άνευ της του βασιλέως έπικλήσεως, άντεπιστείλας, το τε όνομα το βασιλικόν καταθέσθαι καὶ τῆς 'Αρμενίας ἀποστήναι προσέταξεν. έφ' ω δη ο Πάρθος σύχ δσον ού κατέπτηξεν, άλλα και άντέγραψέν οι τά τε άλλα ύπερφρόνως, και αύτον μεν βασιλέα βασιλέων έκείνον δε Καίσαρα μύνον ονομάσας. ο δε δή Τυγράνης εὐθύς μεν οὐκ ἐπρεσβεύσατο, τοῦ δέ Αρταβάζου νόσω ύστερον τελευτήσαντος δωρά τε

t cal supplied by Bs.

ol sal AE, of BC".

^{*} roundburrer ABC , Acres 64000 F.

[·] spardens, sparden Ba, spardengs, sparries (but corrected by first hand to operday) Exc. Ura cod. A. operacros Xiph. VII. oparacrov Xiph. C. oparacry Xiph. VCL.

dare send any other induential man; as for Gaius s.c. 1 and Lucius, they were young and inexperienced in affairs. Nevertheless, under the stress of necessity. he chose Gaius, gave him the proconsular authority and a wife, -in order that he might also have the increased dignity that attached to a married man, and appointed advisers to him. Gaius accordingly set out and was everywhere received with marks of distinction, as befitted one who was the emperor's grandson and was even looked upon as his son. Even Tiberius went to Chios and paid court to him, thus endeavouring to clear himself of suspicion: indeed, he humiliated himself and grovelled at the feet, not only of Gaius, but also of all the associates of Gains. And Gains, after going to Syria and meeting with no great success, was wounded.

When the barbarians heard of Gaius' expedition, Phrataces sent men to Augustus to explain what had occurred and to demand the return of his brothers on condition of his accepting peace. The emperor as a sent him a letter in reply, addressed simply to "Phrataces," without the appellation of "king," in which he directed him to lay aside the royal name and to withdraw from Armenia. Thereupou the Parthian, so far from being cowed, wrote back in a generally haughty tone, styling himself "King of Kings" and addressing Augustus simply as "Caesar." Tigranes did not at once send any envoys, but when Artabazus somewhat later fell ill and died, he sent gifts to Augustus, in view of the

1 See note on lili. 13, 2.

⁶ åraås Xiph., om. Exc. Urs.

[&]quot; burpapoleur fixe. Cra., duspopaleur Xijth.

τῶ Αὐγούστω, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὑπεξηρη21 μένου οἰ, ἔπεμψε, τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα ἐς τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν μὴ ἐγγράψας, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν δῆθεν
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἤτησε. τοὐτοις τεὶ οὖν ὑπαχθείς καὶ
τὸν πόλεμον ἄμα τὸν Παρθικὸν μοβηθείς τὰ τε
δῶρα ἐδέξατο, καὶ μετ' ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν χρηστῶν ἐς
τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τὰν Γάιον ἐλθείν ἐκέλευσεν.—
Εχε. U 36 (p. 390), Χiph. 102, 4—11.

τάς σφισιν ἀπεώσαντο, οὐ πρότερον τε ἐνέδοσαν πός σφισιν ἀπεώσαντο, οὐ πρότερον τε ἐνέδοσαν πρίν χιλίαρχον τινα ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πεμφθήναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν χρόνω τὰς καταδρομὰς αὐτῶν ἐπέσχεν, ώστε ἐπὶ πολύ μη-

δένα βουλευτήν των ταύτη πόλεων άρξαι. 2 Ταθτά τε οὐν ἄμα καὶ τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκαινώθη.

ό γαρ Δομίτιος πρότερον μέν, εως ετι των πρός τω Ίστρω χωρίων ήρχε, τούς τε Έρμουνδούρους εκ της οἰκείας οὐκ οἶδ΄ ὅπως εξαναστάντας καὶ κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐτέρας γῆς πλανωμένους ὑπολαβών ἐν μέρει της Μαρκομαννίδος κατώκισε, καὶ τὸν ᾿Αλβίαν μηδενός οἱ ἐναντιουμένου διαβὰς φιλίαν τε τοῖς ἐκείνη βαρβάροις συνέθετο καὶ βωμών ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγουστω ιδρύσατο. τότε δὲ πρός τε τὸν Ὑῆνου μετελθών, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας τινὰς Χερούσκων καταγαγεῖν δι' ἐτέρων ἐθελήσας, ἐδυστύχησε καὶ καταφρονήσαί σφων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πλέον τι τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπράχθη διὰ γὰρ τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ὑπόγυον ὅντα οὐδεμία αὐτῶν ἐπιστροφή τότε ἐγένετο.

¹ TE A (B ! V !).

a row Happinder En., the Happiner Urs., the Happine A (B ! V !).

BOOK LV

fact that his rival had been removed, and though he are it did not mention the name "king" in his letter, he really did petition Augustus for the kingship. Influenced by these considerations and at the same time fearing the war with the Parthians, the emperor accepted the gifts and bade him go with good hopes to Gaius in Syria.

Egypt, and did not yield until a tribune from the pretorian guard was sent against them. This man in the course of time checked their incursions, with the result that for a long period no senator governed

the cities in this region.

Coincident with these events there was an outbreak on the part of the Germans. Somewhat earlier Domitius, while still governing the districts along the Ister, had intercepted the Hermunduri, a tribe which for some reason or other had left their own land and were wandering about in quest of another, and he had settled them in a part of the Marcomannian territory; then he had crossed the Albis, meeting with no opposition, had made a friendly alliance with the barbarians on the further side, and had set up an altar to Augustus on the bank of the river. Just now he had transferred his headquarters to the Rhine, and in his desire to secure the return of certain Cheruscan exiles through the efforts of other persons had met with a reverse and had caused the other barbarians likewise to conceive a contempt for the Romans. This was the extent, however, of his operations that year; for in view of the Parthian war which was impending no attention was paid to the Germans at this time.

417

4 Οὐ μὴν οὐδε τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐπολεμήθη. ὁ γὰρ Φρατάκης του Γάιον έν τε τη Συρία όντα καὶ ύπατεύοντα άκούσας, και προσέτι και τὰ οίκεῖα μηδέ πρότερον εύνοικώς οι έχοντα υποτοπήσας, προκατηλλάγη έπὶ τω αυτός το της 'Αρμενίας έποστήναι και τους άδελφούς αυτού πέραν θα-3 λάσσης είναι. οί γε μην Αρμένιοι, καίπερ του τε Τυγράνου έκ πολέμου τινός βαρβαρικού φθαρέντος και της Ερατούς την άρχην άφείσης, όμως έπειδη Αριοβαρζάνει τινὶ Μήδω, ός ποτε μετά τοῦ Τιριδάτου 1 προς τους 'Ρωμαίους άφικτο, παρεδίδοντο, έπολέμησων σφισι τω ύστέρω έτει, έν ω Πούπλιός τε Ούινίκιος και Πούπλιος Ούαρος ύπάε τευσαν, και άλλο μέν οὐδεν άξιόλογον εδρασαν, Αδδων δέ τις τὰ Αρτώγειρα κατέχων ὑπηγώγετο τον Γάιον ύπο το τείχος ώς και τών του Πάρθου τι άπορρήτων αυτώ φράσων, και έτρωσεν αυτόν. κάκ τούτου πολιορκηθείς επί πλείστον αντέσγεν. τάλόντος δ΄ ούν ποτε αύτοῦ τό τε όνομα το τοῦ αύτοκράτορος ούχ ο Αύγουστος μόνου άλλα και ό Γόιος επέθετο, και την 'Αρμενίαν τότε μεν ο Αριοβαρζάνης, ἀποθανόντος δε αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλώ ύστερον Αρτάβαζος ο νίος παρά τε του Αυγούε στου και παρά της βουλής έλαβεν. ό δ' οὐν Γάιος έκ του τραύματος ήρρώστησε, καὶ ἐπειδή μηδ' ἄλλως ὑγιεινὸς ἡν, ὑφ' οὐπερ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν έξελέλυτο, πολλώ μάλλον άπημβλύνθη. και τέλος ίδιωτεύειν τε ηξίου και έν τη Συρία που καταμείναι ήθελεν, ώστε τον Αύγουστον περιαλγήσαντα τη τε γερουσία το βούλημα αυτου

BOOK LY

Nevertheless, war did not break out with the AR I Parthians, either. For Phrataces, hearing that Gains was in Syria, acting as consul, and, furthermore, having suspicions regarding his own people, who had even before this been inclined to be disloyal to him, forestalled action on their part by coming to terms with the Romans, on condition that he himself should renounce Armenia and that his brothers should remain beyond the sea. The Armenians, however, in spite of the fact that Tigranes had perished in a war with barbarians and Erato had resigned her sovereignty, nevertheless went to war with the Romans because they were being handed over to a Mede, Ariobarzanes, who had once come to the Romans along with Tiridates. This was in the 5.5 ? following year, when Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus were consuls. And though they accomplished nothing worthy of note, a certain Addon, who was (A.B. 3) holding Artagira, induced Gains to come up close to the wall, pretending that he would reveal to him some of the Parthian king's secrets, and then wounded him, whereupon he was besieged. He held out for a long time; but when he was at last captured, not only Augustus but Gaius also assumed the title of imperator, and Armenia was given by Augustus and the senate first to Ariobarzanes and then upon his death a little later to his son Artabazus. Gains became ill from his wound, and since he was not robust to begin with and the condition of his health had impaired his mind, this illness blunted his faculties still more. At last he begged leave to retire to private life, and it was his desire to remain somewhere in Syria. Augustus, accordingly, grieved at heart, communicated his wish to the senate, and

κοινώσαι και έκεινον ἐς γοῦν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα υ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο προτρέψασθαι. πάντ οῦν εὐθὺς τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφεὶς ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν ὁλκάδι παρέπλευσε, κὰνταῦθα ἐν Λιμύροις μετῆλλαξε. πρὶν δὲ ἡ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ὁ Λούκιος ἐν Μασπαλία προαπέσβη· πολλαχῆ γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκείνος ἄλλοτε ἄλλη πεμπόμενος ἡσκείτο, καὶ τάς γε τοῦ Γαίου ἐπιστολὰς αὐτὸς ἐν τῆ βουλῆ, ὁσάκις ἄν παρείν ἀνενίσγουσακεν, ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐδαίφνης νοσή»

10 παρείη, ἀνεγίγνωσκεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐξαίφνης νοσήσας, ἄστε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι τὴν Αιονίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὁ Τιβέριος ἐς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐκ τῆς 'Ρόδον ἀφίκετο, ὑποπτευ-

11 θήναι. αυτός τε γὰρ ἐμπειρότατος τῆς διὰ τῶν ἄστρων μαντικῆς ὧν, καὶ Θράσυλλον ἄνδρα πάσης ὰστρολογίας διαπεψυκότα ἔχων, πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνοις πεπρωμένα ἀκριβῶς

2 ήπίστατο καὶ λόγον γε ἔχει ὅτι μελλήσας ποτε ἐν τῆ 'Ρόδω τὸν Θράσυλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους. ἐπειδη μόνος αὐτῷ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐνενόει συνήδει, ώσειν, οὐκέτ' αὐτὸ 'ἐποίησε σκυθρωπάσαντα αὐτὸν ἰδών, οὕτι γε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, άλλ' ὅτι ἐπερωτηθεὶς διὰ τί συννένοφε, κίνδυνύν τινα ὑποπτεύειν οἱ γενήσεσθαι ἔφη θαυμάσας γὰρ ὅτι καὶ την μέλλησιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς' προείδεν, ψυλάξαι αὐτὸν ἐαυτῷ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἡθέλησεν.— Ζοα, 10, 36.

3 Ούτω γάρ που πάντα ἐκείνος σαφῶς ἤδει ὥστε καὶ τὸ πλοίον τὸ τὴν ἀγγελίαν τῷ Γιβερίῳ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνακομιδῆς παρά τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ

1 nord Xiph., atras M.

^{*} Between erifloudir and Tiflipear (13, 2) two more folios are lacking in M. * * *postder supplied by Bs.

urged him to come at least to Italy and then do as (s.s.) he pleased. So Gaius resigned at once all the duties of his office and took a trading vessel to Lycia. where, at Limyra, he passed away. But even before (* 18.4) Gaius' death the spark of life in Lucius had been quenched at Massilia. He, too, was being trained to rule by being despatched on missions to many places, and it was his custom personally to read the letters of Gains in the senate, whenever he was His death was due to a sudden illness. In connexion with both deaths, therefore, suspicion attached to Livia, and particularly because it was just at this time that Tiberius returned to Rome from Rhodes. Tiberius, it seems, was extremely well versed in the art of divination by means of the stars, and had with him Thrasyllus, who was a pastmaster of all astrology, so that he had full and accurate knowledge of what fate had in store both for him and for Gaius and Lucius. And the story goes that once in Rhodes he was about to push Thrasyllus from the walls, because he was the only one who shared all his own thoughts; but he did not carry out his intention when he observed that Thrasyllus was gloomy,-not, indeed, because of his gloom, but because, when asked why his countenance was overeast, the other replied that he had a premonition that some peril was in store for him. This answer made Tiberius marvel that he could foresee the mere project of the plot, and so he conceived the desire to keep Thrasyllus for his own purposes because of the hopes he entertained.

Thrasyllus had so clear a knowledge of all matters that when he descried, approaching afar off, the ship which was bringing to Tiberius the message from his

παρά του Λύγούστου φέρου πόρρωθευ κατιδών προσπλέου, προειπείν αυτῷ ὰ ἀγγέλλειν ἔμελλε.

12 Τοῦ δὲ Λουκίου τοῦ τε Γαίου τὰ σώματα διά τε τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως πρώτων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αὶ πέλται τὰ τε δόρατα, ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἰππέων ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντες χρυσᾶ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριου ἀνετέθη.—Χiph. 102, 25-103, 3.

2 Δεσπότης δέ ποτε ο Λύγουστος υπό του δήμου ονομασθείς ούχ όπως άπειπε μηδένα τουτφ προς έαυτου τῷ προσρήματι χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ

- 3 πάνν διὰ φυλακής αὐτο ἐποιήσατο. πληρωθείσης δέ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τότε τὸ τέταρτον, ἐκβιασθεὶς δῆθεν, ὑπεδέξατο, πραότερος τε καὶ ὁκυηρότερος ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως πρὸς τὸ τῶν βουλευτῶν τισιν ἀπεχθάνεσθαι γεγονῶς αὐδενὶ ἔτ αὐτῶν προσκρούειν ἡθελεν.—Χiph. 103, 3-11, Zon. 10, 36.
- 3a Χιλίας τε καὶ πεντακοσίας μυριάδας δραχμών ἀτόκους τοῖς δεομένοις δανείσας ἐπ' ἔτη τρία, ἐπηνεῖτο παρὰ πάντων καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο.—Ζοπ. 10, 36.
- 4 Έμπρησμοῦ δέ ποτε τὸ παλάτιον διαφθείραντος, καὶ πολλών αὐτῷ πολλά διδόντων, οὐδὲν ἔλαβεν ἡ μόνον παρὰ μὲν τῶν δήμων χρυσοῦν παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν δραχμήν. χρυσοῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἶκοσι δραχμάς

5 δυνάμενον κατά τὸ ἐπιχώριον ὁνομάζω· καὶ τῶν Ελλήνων δέ τινες, ὧν τὰ βιβλία ἐπὶ τῷ ἀττικίζειν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐκάλεσαν.— Xiph. 103, 11–18, Zon. 10, 36.

^{*} Suehhe V, Suehhe CL'. * Seawarns VC, and Seawarns L'.

BOOK LV

mother and Augustus to return to Rome, he told and him in advance what news it would bring.

The bodies of Lucius and Gaius were brought to 18-6-6. Rome by the military tribunes and by the chief men of each city. And the golden targes and spears which they had received from the knights on entering the class of youths of military age were set up in the senate-house.

When Augustus was once called "master" by the people, he not only forbade that any one should use this form of address to him, but also took very good care to enforce his command. And now that his third ten-year period was completed, he accepted the leadership for the fourth time, though ostensibly ander compulsion. He had become milder through age and more reluctant to incur the hatred of any of the senators, and hence now wished to offend none of them.

For lending sixty million sesterces for three years without interest to such as needed it he was praised and magnified by all.

Once, when a fire destroyed the palace and many persons offered him large sums of money, he accepted nothing but an aureus from entire communities and a denarius from single individuals. I here use the name aureus, according to the Roman practice, for the coin worth one hundred sesterces. Some of the Greeks, also, whose books we read with the object of acquiring a pure Attic style, have given it this name.

[&]quot; more VC, rors Li. 1 rore và CLi, vò V.

Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς "Ελλησιν εἰκοσι δραχμών ὁ Δίων φησὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἀλλάσσεσθαι νόμισμα.—Ζου. 10, 36.

Ο δὲ Αύγουστος τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσας ἐδημόσιωσε πάσαν, εἶτε δὴ διὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τὴν παρὰ ¹ τοῦ δήμου οἱ γενομένην, εἶτε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχιέρεως ἡν, ἵν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἄμα καὶ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς οἰκοίη.

13 Τοῦ δὲ δήμου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου τῷ Αὐγούστῷ Γνα καταγάγη τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, θᾶσσον ἔφη πῦρ ὕδατι μιχθήσεσθαι ἡ ἐκείνην καταχθήσεσθαι καὶ ὁ δῆμος πυρὰ ἐς τὸν Τίβεριν πολλὰ ἐνέβαλε καὶ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο ῶστε ἐς γοῦν τὴν ἤπειρον αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς νήσου

κομισθήναι. - Xiph. 103, 19-28.

16 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κελτικοῦ πολέμου κεκινημένου αὐτὸς ὑπό τε γήρως καὶ νόσου κεκμηκὸς ἔχων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐκστρατεῦσαι μὴ οἶός τε ὡν, πῆ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκασθεὶς πῆ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰουλίας ἀναπεισθεὶς (ἥδη γὰρ αὐτη εκ τῆς

2 υπερορίας κατήχθη), [Zon. 10, 36]. του Τιβέριον καὶ ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐπὶ τους Κελτους ἐξέπεμψε, τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν ὅημαρχικὴν ἐς δέκα ἔτη δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνου ὑποπτεύσας πη ἐκφρονήσειν, καὶ φοβηθείς μὴ καὶ νεοχμώση τι, τὸν Γερμανικών οἱ τὸν ἀδελφιδούν καίτοι καὶ

3 αὐτῷ υίὸν ἔχοντι ἐσεποίησε. κὰκ τούτων ἐπιθαρσήσας ὡς καὶ διαδόχους καὶ βοηθούς ἔχων, διαλέξαι τὴν γερουσίαν αὐθις ἡθέλησε, καὶ δέκα

* maph Li, del en VC.

Though E to corrected from out Though ABC.

BOOK LV

Among the Greeks, Dio says, the aureus is ex- 4.5.5

changed for twenty drachmas.1

When Augustus had built his house, he made it all state property, either on account of the contributions made by the people or because he was high priest and wished to live in apartments that

were at once private and public.

The people urged Augustus very strongly to restore his daughter from exile, but he answered that fire should sooner mix with water than she should be restored. And the people threw many firebrands into the Tiber; and though at the time they accomplished nothing, yet later on they brought such pressure to bear that she was at least brought from the island to the mainland.

Later, when a German war broke out and Augustus At 4 was worn out in body, by reason of old age and illness, and incapable of taking the field, he yielded, partly to the force of circumstances and partly to the persuasions of Julia, who had now been restored from banishment, and not only adopted Tiberius, but also sent him out against the Germans, granting him the tribunician power for ten years. Yet suspecting that he also would lose his poise somehow or other, and fearing that he would begin a rebellion, he made him adopt his nephew Germanicus, though Tiberius had a son of his own. After this he took courage, feeling that he had successors and supporters, and he desired to reorganize the senate once more. So he nominated the ten senators whom he most highly

That is, for the equivalent of eighty, instead of a hundred, pretereces.

beforeade supplied by Xyl. " deciror Xyl., deciror M. cod. Cotsl.

βουλευτάς ους μάλιστα έτίμα προβαλόμενος τρεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν έξεταστὰς ἀπέδειξεν, ους ὁ κλῆρος είλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολλοί οὐτε προκατέγνωσάν σφων έξουσίας αὐτοῖς δοθείσης, ὥσπερ καὶ

πρότερον, ούτ άκοντες άπηλίφησαν.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ δι ἐτέρων ἔπραξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπογραφὸς τῶν ἔν τε τῆ Ἰταλία κατοικούντων και μὴ ἐλάττω πέντε μυριάδων οὐσίαν κεκτημένων ἐποιήσατο τοὺς γὰρ ἀσθενεστέρους τούς τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας οἰκοῦντας οὐκ ἡνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δείσας μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι ταραχθέντες.
καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ δόξειεν ὡς τιμητής αὐτὸ ποιεῖν,

και οπώς γε μη δοξειεν ως τιμητής αυτό ποιείν, δι όπερ είπου πρότερου, αυθύπατου εξουσίαν πρώς τε τὸ τέλος των απογραφών και πρώς την

- 6 τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἔκ τε τοῦ Βουλευτικοῦ γένους κὰκ τῶν ἄλλων ἰππέων ἐπένοντο μηδὲν ἐπαίτιον ἔχοντες, τοὶς μὲν πλείοσι τὸ τεταγμένον τίμημα ἀνεπλήρωσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα δέ τισι καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα αὐτὸ μυριάδας ἐπηύξησε. πολλῶν τε
- τριάκοντα αυτό μυριάδας έπηύξησε. πολλών τε πολλούς άκρίτως έλευθερούντων, διέταξε τήν τε ήλικίαν ήν τόν τε έλευθερώσοντά τινα και τόν άφεθησόμενον ύπ' αυτού έχειν δεήσοι, και τὰ δικαιώματα οἰς οῖ τε ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς έλευθερουμένους και αὐτοί οἱ δεσπόται σφών γενόμενοι χρήσοιντο.

14 Πράσσοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐπεβούλευσαν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος θυγατριδοῦς τοῦ μεγάλου

¹ woudandurens H. Stoph., woodanndurens M.

[·] апрабраци St., аправората М., · акратът Салава, аправот М.

BOOK LV

honoured and appointed three of them, selected by kin a lot, to examine the qualifications of senators. There were not many, however, who were affected, either by declaring themselves disqualified when permission was given them to do so, as had been done on the previous occasion, or by having their names crased

against their will.

Now Augustus caused others to carry through this business for him; but he himself took a census, but only of the inhabitants of Italy who possessed property worth at least two hundred thousand sesterces, for he did not compel the poorer citizens or those living outside of Italy to be listed, fearing lest, if they were disturbed, they would become rebellious. And in order that he might not appear to be acting herein in the capacity of censor, for the reason I mentioned before,2 he assumed the proconsular power for the purpose of completing the census and performing the purification. Inasmuch, moreover, as many of the young men of the senatorial class and of the knights as well were poor through no fault of their own, he made up to most of them the required amount, and in the case of some eighty increased it to one million two hundred thousand sesterces. Since also many were freeing their slaves indiscriminately, he fixed the age which the manumitter and also the slave to be freed by him must have reached and likewise the legal principles which should govern the relations of both citizens in general and the former masters toward slaves who were set free.

While he was thus occupied, various men formed plots against him, notably Gnaeus Cornelius, a son

Cf. lii, 42, 2, and liv, 26, 4. Cf. liv. 1, 5-2, L.

Πομπηίου ών, ώστε εν μεγάλη αυτον αμηχανία χρόνον τινά γενέσβαι, μήτ άποκτείναι σφας, ότε ουδέν πλέον προς άσφάλειαν έκ των άπολλυμένων έώρα οι γιγνόμενον, μήτ άπολυσαι, μή και έτέρους έκ τούτου έφ έαυτον έπισπάσηται, εθέλοντα. 2 άπορούντι τε ούν αυτώ ο τι πράξη, και ούτε μεθ ήμέραν άφροντιστείν ούτ αυ νύκτωρ ώτρεμείν δυναμένω έφη ποτε ή Λιονία. "τί έστι τούτο, ω

άνερ; δια τί ου καθεύδεις:"

Καὶ ὁ Αύγουστος "καὶ τίς ἄν," εἰπεν, "ὁ
γύναι, κάν ἐλάχιστον ἀπομερμηρίσειε τοσούτους
τε ἀεὶ ἐχθρούς ἔχων καὶ συνεχῶς οὕτως ἄλλοτε
τα ἀκὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τῷ ἀρχῷ ἡμῶν ἐπιτίθενται; καὶ
αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ αὶ τιμωρίαι τῶν δικαιουμένων ἀναστέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τοὐναντίον, ὅσπερ
ἐπ' ἀγαθών τι ἐπειγόμενοι, σπεύδουσι καὶ οἰ

λοιποὶ προσαπόλλυσθαί."

1 'Ακούσασα οὖν τούτων ἡ Λιουία· "τὸ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαί σε," ἔφη, "οὖτε θαυμαστὸν οὖτε ἔξω τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ πράσσεις πολλὰ ἄτε τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ἔχων, καὶ λυπεῖς, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συχνούς, οὐ γάρ που καὶ πᾶσιν οἰόν τε τὸν ἄρχοντά τινων ἀρέσκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι πολλοῖς καὶ τὸν πάνυ ὁρθῶς βασιλεύοντα ἀνάγκη, πολλῶ τε γὰρ πλείους τῶν δίκαιὸν τι πραττόντων οἱ ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοντές εἰσιν, ὧν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀποπιμπλάναι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρετήν τινα ἔχόντων οἱ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων, ὧν οὐ δύνανται

of the daughter of Pompey the Great. Augustus was consequently in great perplexity for some time, since he neither wished to put the plotters to death, inasmuch as he saw that no greater safety would accrue to him by their destruction, nor to let them go, for fear this might induce others to conspire against him. While he was in doubt what to do and was finding it impossible either to be free from apprehension by day or from restlessness by night. Livia one day said to him: "What means this, husband? Why is it that you do not sleep?"

And Augustus answered: "What man, wife, could even for a moment forget his cares, who always has so many enemies and is so constantly the object of plots on the part of one set of men or another? Do you not see how many are attacking both me and our sovereignty? And not even the punishment of those who are brought to justice serves to check them; nay, quite the opposite is the result—those who are left are as eager to accomplish their own destruction also as if they were striving for some

honourable thing."

Then Livia, hearing this, said: "That you should be the object of plotting is neither remarkable nor contrary to human nature. For you do a great many things, possessing so large an empire as you do, and naturally cause grief to not a few. A ruler can not, of course, please everybedy; nay, it is inevitable that even a king whose rule is altogether upright should make many men his enemies. For those who wish to do wrong are far more namerous than those who do right, and it is impossible to satisfy their desires. Even among such as possess a certain excellence, some covet many great rewards which they

τυχείν, επορέγονται, οί δε και ετέρων έλαττωθέντες άχθονται, και ούτως άμφότεροι τον κραο τούντα αιτιώνται. ώστε έκ τε τούτων μη είναι κακού άμαρτάνειν, και προσέτι και έκ των έπιτιθεμένων ούτι γε καὶ σοι άλλὰ τῆ ἡγεμονία. σὲ μέν γὰρ ίδιωτεύοντα οὐδ' ἀν εἰς έθελοντης κακόν τι, μηδέν γε προπαθών, ἐποίησε τῆς δὲ δὴ ἀρχῆς και των άγαθών των έν αύτη πάντες, και οί γε έν δυνάμει τινί όντες πολύ μαλλου των ύποδεε-? στέρων, δριγνώνται. τούτο γάρ έστι μεν άδίκων ανθρώπων και ήκιστα νούν έχοντων ποιείν, οὐ μην άλλ' έν τε τη φύσει αυτών καθάπερ τι καὶ άλλο ένεστι, καὶ ούχ οδόν τέ έστι τὰ τοιαύτα ούτε πείθοντα ουτ άναγκάζοντα έξελέσθαι τυών ούδεις γάρ ούτε νύμος ούτε φόβος κρείττων τών α φύσει πεφυκότων ήγνεται. ταῦτ' οὐν λογιζόμενος τάς μέν τών άλλων άμαρτίας μη δυσχέραινε, φυλακήν δ' ἀκριβή και σεαυτού και της μουαρχίας

φυλακην ο ακριβη και σεαυτού και της μουαρχίας ποιού, ΐνα αὐτην μη έκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς ἀλλ' έκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν ἀσφαλῶς έχωμεν."

15 Πρὸς οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος "ἀλλ' οἶδα μεν και έγω, ὡ γύναι, ὅτι οὕτ ἄλλο τι τῶν μεγάλων

έξω φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς καθέστηκευ, ῆκιστα 2 δε αὐταρχία: καὶ γὰρ ἀν καὶ ἰσόθεοι ἢμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πράγματα καὶ φροντίδας καὶ φόβους ὑπὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἱδιωτεύοντας εἰχομεν. ἐμὲ δὲ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο λυπεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἀναγκαίον ἐστι ταῦθ' οῦτως γίγμεσθαι, καὶ ἀδύνατον θεραπείαν τινὰ αὐτῶν εὐρεθῆναι."

3 "'Αλλ' έπειδή γέ τινες τοιούτεί είσιν οίοι

¹ πράγματα Χίμλι, πρίίγμα Μ.

can not obtain, and some chafe because they are less 4.0.4 honoured than others; hence both these classes find fault with the ruler. Therefore it is impossible to avoid meeting with mischief, either at the hands of these or, in addition, at the hands of those who attack, not you personally, but the monarchy. For if you were a private citizen, no one would willingly have done you any harm, unless he had previously received some injury; but all men covet the office of ruler and the good things that office affords, and those who already possess some power covet much more than those who are lacking in this respect. It is, indeed, the way of men who are wicked and have very little sense to do so; in fact, it is implanted in their nature, just like any other instinct, and it is impossible either by persuasion or by compulsion to destroy such instincts in some of them; for there is no law and no fear stronger than the instincts implanted by nature. Reflect on this, therefore, and do not be vexed at the shortcomings of the other sort of men, but as for your own person and your sovereignty, keep close guard of them, that we may hold the throne securely, not by the strictness of the punishments you inflict upon individuals, but by the strictness with which you guard it."

To this Augustus replied: "But, wife, I, too, am aware that no high position is ever free from envy and treachery, and least of all a monarchy. Indeed, we should be equals of the gods if we had not troubles and cares and fears beyond all men in private station. But precisely this is what causes my grief,—that this is inevitably so and that no remedy

for it can be found."

"Yet," said Livia, "since some men are so con-

πάντως άδικειν έθέλειν," είπεν ή Λιονία, "ήμεις γε αυτούς φυλαττώμεθα. έχομεν δε και στρατιώτας πολλούς, ών οι μέν προς τους πολεμίους άντιτεταγμένοι οί δε και περί σε όντες φρουρούσιν ήμας, και θεραπείαν πολλήν, ώστε και οίκοι και

έξω δι αυτούς ασφαλώς ζην.

Υπολαβών ουν ο Αίγουστος "ότι μεν πολλοί πολλάκις και ύπ' αυτών των συνώντων έφθάρη. σαν, οὐδέν." έφη, "δέομαι λέγειν. προς γὰο τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν ταῖς μουαρχίαις χαλεπώτατόν έστιν, ότι μή μόνον τούς πολεμίους, ώσπερ οί άλλοι, άλλα και τους φιλίους φοβούμεθα. 5 και πολύ γε πλείους ύπο των τοιούτων, άτε και

άεί, και μεθ' ήμέραν και νύκτωρ, και γυμνουμένοις σφίσε και καθεύδουσε σετία τε και ποτά ύπ' αύτων παρεσκευασμένα λαμβάνουσι συγγυγνομένων, επεβουλεύθησαν ή ύπο των μηδέν προσηκόντων τά τε γάρ άλλα, και πρός μεν εκείνους έστι τούτους αντιτάξαι, πρός δε τούτους αυτούς

6 ούκ έστιν άλλω τινί συμμάχω χρήσασθαι. ώσθ' ήμεν δια πάντων δεινόν μεν την ερημίαν δεινόν δε και το πλήθος, και φοβερον μεν την άφυλαξίαν φοβερωτάτους δε αύτους τούς φύλακας, και χαλεπούς μέν τούς έχθρούς χαλεπωτέρους δε τούς φίλους είναι φίλους γάρ ἀνάγκη πάντας σφάς.

7 καν μη ώσι, καλείσθαι. εί δ' ούν τις και χρηστών αύτου τύχοι, άλλ' ούτι γε ούτω πιστεύσειεν αν σφισιν ώστε καὶ καθαρά και άφροντίστω καὶ άνυπόπτω τη ψυχή προσομιλεύν. τούτο τε ούν

¹ pixlous M. oftwee Xiph. 2 sal added (between lines) by corrector in M, om. Xiph. dor.

stituted as to want to do wrong in any event, let us an a guard against them. We have many soldiers who protect us, some arrayed against foreign foes and others about your person, and also a large retinue, so that by their help we may live in security both at home and abroad."

"I do not need to state," Augustus answered and said, "that many men on many occasions have perished at the hands of their immediate associates. For monarchies have this most serious disadvantage in addition to all the rest, that we have not only our enemies to fear, as have other men, but also our friends. And a far greater number of rulers have been plotted against by such persons than by those who have no connexion with them at all, inasmuch as his friends are with the ruler both day and night, when he takes his exercise, when he sleeps, and when he takes the food and drink which they have prepared. For the ruler labours under this special disadvantage as regards his friends, that, although he can protect himself from his enemies by arraying his friends against them, there is no corresponding ally on whom he may rely to protect him from these very friends. Consequently we rulers find it to be true at all times, that whereas solitude is dreadful, company also is dreadful, that whereas unprotectedness is terrifying, the very men who protect us are most terrifying, and that whereas our enemies are difficult to deal with, our friends are still more difficult. 'Friends,' I say, for friends they must all be called, even if they are not friends. And even if one should find loyal friends, still one could by no means so completely trust them as to associate with them with a sincere, untroubled, and unsuspecting

433

καί το τους άλλους τους επιβουλεύουτας άναγκαΐον είναι αμύνεσθαι πάνδεινόν έστιν. το γάρ τοι τιμωρείσθαί τε καὶ κολάζειν ἀεί τινας ἀναγκάζεσθαι μεγάλην άχθηδόνα τοις γε άγαθοίς

ανδράσι φέρει."

16 " Αλλ' όρθώς γε λέγεις," άπεκρίνατο ή Διουία, "καί σοι γρώμην δούναι έχω, άν γε καί προσδέξασθαι αύτην έθελήσης, και μη διαμέμψη δτι γυνή οδσα τολμώ σοι συμβουλεύσαι τι οίον ούδ' όν είς άλλος ουδέ των πάνυ φίλων παραινέσειεν, ούχ ότι ούκ ίσασιν αύτό, άλλ' ότι ού θαρσούσιν einely."

"Λέγ," ή δ' ος ο Λίνγουστος, "δ τι δή ποτε

τοῦτό ἐστιν.

Ή οὖν Λιονία " φράσω," ἔφη, " μηδέν κατοκυήσασα, άτε και τὰ ἀγαθὰ και τὰ κακὰ ἐκ τοῦ ίσου σοι έχουσα, καὶ σωζομένου μέν σου και αυτή τὸ μέρος άργουσα, δεινον δέ τι παθόντος, δ μη 3 γένοιτο, συναπολουμένη. εί γάρ τοι ή τε φύσις ή ανθρωπίνη πάντως τι άμαρτάνειν τινάς άναπείθει, και άμηχανών έστιν αύτην πράξαί τι ώρμημένην έπισχείν, και ήδη γε και αυτά τά δοκούντά τισιν άγαθα είναι, ένα μη τάς τών πολλών κακίας είπω, και πάνυ συγγούς άδικείν έπαίρει (καὶ γάρ γένους αύχημα καὶ πλούτου Φρονήμα τιμής τε μέγεθος και έπ' ανδρεία" θράσος 4 έξουσίας τε όγκος πολλούς έξοκέλλειν ποιεί, και μήτε το γενναίον δυσγενές μήτε το ανδρείον δειλον μήτε το εμφρον άνουν έστι ποιήσαι (δούνατον γάρ), μήτ αὐ τὰς περιουσίας τινών περικόπτειν

διαμέρψη R. Steph., διατέρψη Μ Χίρh.
 ἐκ' ἀκδρείο Wolf. ἐκ' ἀκδρείος Μ, ἐκ' ἀκδρέος Χίρh.

heart. This situation, then, and the necessity of taking measures to protect ourselves against the other group of plotters, combine to make our position utterly dreadful. For to be always under the necessity of taking vengeance and inflicting punishments is a source of great sorrow, to good men at least."

"You are indeed right," answered Livia, "and I have some advice to give you,—that is, if you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest,—not because they are not aware of it, but because they are not speak."

"Speak out," replied Augustus, "whatever it is."

"I will tell you," said Livia, "without hesitation, because I have an equal share in your blessings and your ills, and as long as you are safe I also have my part in reigning, whereas if you come to any harm, (which Heaven forbid!), I shall perish with you. it indeed be true that man's nature persuades some persons to err under any and all conditions, and that there is no way to curb man's nature when it has once set out upon a course of action, and that even what some men look upon as good conduct (to leave out of consideration the vices of the many) is forthwith an incentive to wrongdoing to very many men (for example, boasting of high birth, pride of wealth, luftiness of honours, arrogance of bravery, conceit of power-all these bring many to grief); if it be true that one can not make ignoble that which is noble, or cowardly that which is brave, or prudent that which is foolish (for that is impossible); if, on the other hand, one ought not to curtail the abundance

ή τὰς φιλοτιμίας ταπεινοῦν μηδέν γε πλημμελούντων χρή (ἄδικον γάρ), τό τ' άμυνόμενον ή καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντά τινας καὶ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ κακοδοξεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστί, φέρε μεταβαλώμεθα καὶ τινος αὐτῶν φεισώμεθα. καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ πολλῷ πλείω φιλανθρωπία ή τινι ὑμόνητι κατορθοῦσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συγγνώμονας οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐλεηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν φιλοῦσιν, ὡστε καὶ ἀμείβεσθαὶ σφας σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ αἰδοῦνται καὶ σέβουσιν. ὡστε μὴ εὐτολμεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν τοὺς δ' ἀπαραιτήτοις ὁργαῖς χρωμένους οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι μόνοι οἱ τι φοβούμενοι μισοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες δυσχεραίνουσι, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ προαπόλωνται.

Τ΄ Η οὺχ ὁρᾶς ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἱατροὶ τὰς μὲν τομὰς καὶ τὰς καύσεις σπανιώτατά τισι προσφέρουσιν. ἔνα μὴ ἐξαγριαίνωσιν αὐτῶν τὰ νοσήματα, τοῖς ὅτ αἰονήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἡπίοις φαρμάκοις τὰ πλείω μαλθάσσοντες θεραπεύουσι; μὴ γάρ, ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν παθήματὰ ἐστι, διαφέρειν τι νομίσης αὐτὰ ἀλλήλων. 2 πάμπολλα γὰρ ὅμοια τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κὰν τὰ μάλιστα ἀσώματοι ἀσων, καὶ τοῖς σώμασι συμβαίνει συστέλλονταί

τε γάρ ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ έξοιδοῦσιν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ, λύπη τέ τινας κολούει καὶ θάρσος ὀγκοῖ, ὥστ' ὁλίγον σφόδρα τὸ παραλλάττον αὐτῶν είναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ παραπλησίων ἰαμάτων αὐτὰ δεῖσθαι.

¹ γάρ μαι Pflugh, μαι γάρ Μ.
² Δσιν καί flor., Σσιν à καί Μ (but à deleted by corrector).

of others or humble their ambitions, when they are and guilty of no offence (for that were unjust); if, finally, the policy of defending oneself or even of trying to forestall the attacks of others inevitably leads to vexation and ill repute-if all this is true, come, let us change our policy and spare some of the plotters. For it seems to me that far more wrongs are set right by kindness than by harshness. For those who forgive are not only loved by the objects of their clemency, who will therefore even strive to repay the favour, but are also respected and revered by all the rest, who will therefore not readily venture to harm them; those, on the other hand, who indulge in inexorable resentment are not only hated by those who have something to fear, but are also disliked by all the rest, and are in consequence even plotted against by them in their desire to avoid meeting with destruction first.

"Do you not observe that physicians very rarely resort to surgery and cautery, desiring not to aggravate their patients' maladies, but for the most part seek to soothe diseases by the application of fomentations and the milder drugs? Do not think that, because these ailments are affections of the body while those we have to do with are affections of the soul, there is any difference between them. For also the minds of men, however incorporeal they may be, are subject to a large number of ailments which are comparable to those which visit their bodies. Thus there is the withering of the mind through fear and its swelling through passion; in some cases pain lops it off and arrogance makes it grow with conceit; the disparity, therefore, between mind and body being very slight, they accordingly

δάγος τε γὰρ ἤπιός τφ λεχθείς πὰν τὸ ἀγριαϊνον αὐτοῦ χαλῷ, καθάπερ τραχὺς ἔτερος καὶ τὸ ἀνειμένον ὁργίζει καὶ συγγνώμη δοθεῖσα καὶ τὸν πάνυ θρασὺν διαχεῖ, καθάπερ ἡ τιμωρία καὶ τὸν πάνυ πρῷον χαλεπαίνει. αὶ μὲν γὰρ βίαιοι πράξεις ἀεὶ πάντας, κᾶν δικαιόταται ὧσι, παροξύν.

4 ουσιν, αί δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς ἡμεροῦσι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεισθείς ἄν τις ῥῷον καὶ τὰ δεινότατα ἐκὼν ἡ βιασθείς ὑπομείνειεν. καὶ οῦτω γε φύσει τινὶ ἀναγκαία ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν χρῆται, ῶστε καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῷων τῶν μηδένα νοῦν ἐχόντων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἱσχυροτάτων καὶ ἀγριωτάτων θωπείαις τέ τισι τιθασεύεται καὶ δελεάσμασι χειροῦται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν δειλοτάτων καὶ ἀσθενεστάτων λυπήμασί τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἐκταράττεται καὶ παροξύνεται.

18 "Καὶ οὐ λέγω τοῦτο ὅτι δεῖ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν

άδικούντων φείδεσθαι, άλλ' ότι τον μεν ίτην καὶ πολυπράγμονα καὶ κακοήθη καὶ κακόβουλον καὶ ἀνηκέστω τινὶ καὶ διαρκεῖ πουηρία συνόντα ἐκκόπτειν ὅσπερ που καὶ τὰ πάνυ ἀνίατα μερη τῶν σωμάτων, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων ὅσοι τι νεότητι ἡ ἀμαθία ἡ ἀγνοία ἡ καὶ ἐτέρα τινὶ συντυχία οἱ μὲν ἐκόιτες οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄκουτες ἀμαρτάνουσιν, τοὺς μέν λόγοις νουθετεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπειλαῖς σωφρονίζειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτερόν τινα τρόπον μετρίως πως μεταχειρίζεσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων

¹ ple true Xiph., prefrage M.

require cures of a similar nature. Gentle words, for example, cause all one's inflamed passion to subside. just as harsh words in another ease will stir to wrath even the spirit which has been calmed; and forgiveness granted will melt even the utterly arrogant man, just as punishment will incense even him who is utterly mild. For acts of violence will always in every instance, no matter how just they may be, exasperate, while considerate treatment mollifies. Hence it is that a man will more readily submit to the most terrible hardships-and gladly, too,-if he has been persuaded, than if compulsion has been put upon him. And so true it is that, in following both these courses, man is subject to a compelling law of nature, that even among the irrational animals, which have no intelligence, many of the strongest and fiercest are tamed by petting and subdued by allurements, while many even of the most cowardly and weak are aroused to fury by acts of cruelty which excite terror in them.

"I do not mean by this that we must spare all wrongdoers without distinction, but that we must cut off the headstrong man, the meddlesome, the malicious, the trouble-maker, and the man within whom there is an incurable and persistent depravity, just as we treat the members of the body that are quite beyond all healing. In the case of the rest, however, whose errors, committed wilfully or otherwise, are due to youth or ignorance or misapprehension or some other adventitious circumstance, we should in some cases merely rebuke them with words, in others bring them to their senses by threats, and in still others apply some other form of moderate treatment, just as in the case of slaves, who commit now

άλλων άμαρτανόντων άλλα τους μεν μείζοσε 3 τους δε ελάττοσε πάντες κολάζουσεν. ώστε και τὰ κατὰ τούτους ἀκινδύνως μετριάζειν εξεστί σοι, τους μεν φυγή τους δε ὰτιμία τους δε χρήμασε ζημιούντε, έτέρους ες χωρία έτέρους ες πόλεις

τινάς κατατιθεμένω.

" Καὶ ήδη γέ τινες καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὴ τυχείν ών ηλπιζον και ύπο του διαμαρτείν ών έφιεντο έσωι φρονίσθησαν. έδραι τε άτιμοι καὶ στάσεις έπονείδιστοι τό τε προλυπηθήναι και το προφοβηθήναι συχνούς βελτίους εποίησε καίτοι και αποθανείν έλοιτ άν τις εύ τε γεγονώς και ανδρείος ών ή τοιούτο τι παθείν. Εξ ούν τούτων έκείνοις μεν ούδεν ράων ή τιμωρία, άλλα και χαλεπωτέρα γύγνοιτ αν, ημίν δε δη το μήτε τινα επηγορίαν 5 έχειν και άσφαλώς ζην υπάρξειεν. ώς νύν γε πολλούς μέν όργη, πολλούς δε επιθυμία χρημάτων, άλλους άνδρείας φόβω και μάλα άλλους άρετης τινος φθόνω κτείνειν δοκούμεν. ουδείς γάρ βαδίως πιστεύει ότι τις έν τε έξουσία και έν δυνάμει τοσαύτη ων ύπ' ιδιώτου τινός άοπλου επιβουλευθήναι δύναται, άλλ' οί μεν ταύτα λογοποιούσιν, οι δέ ότι ψευδή πολλά άκούομεν και πολλοίς μάτην ώς και άληθέσε η προσέχομεν. τοὺς γάρ τοι διοπτεύοντάς τε καὶ ωτακουστούντας τὰ τοιαύτα, τούς μέν έχθρα

" was took use doys supplied by Re. M shows a lacuns of

fourteen to sixteen letters.

darker R. Steph., drawker M Xipo.

¹ δούλων δλλων άμαρτανόντων άλλα Cuppe, τάλλα άμαρτανόν των R. Steph., δούλων τιμωρίαις Rk., τάλλα Μ Χίρh.

^{*} Grasquerouras Xiph. and corrector in M. Granussias M.

this and now that offence, all men impose greater conpenalties upon some and lesser upon others. Hence, so far as these political offenders are concerned, you may employ moderation without danger, punishing some by banishment, others by disfranchisement, still others by a pecuniary fine, and another class you may dispose of by placing some in confinement

in the country and others in certain cities.

"Experience has shown that men are brought to their senses even by failing to obtain what they hoped for and by being disappointed in the object of their desires. Many men have been made better by having assigned to them at the spectacles seats which confer no honour, or by being appointed to posts to which disgrace attaches, and also by being offended or frightened in advance; and yet a man of high birth and spirit would sooner die than suffer such humiliation. By such means their plans for vengeance would be made no easier, but rather more difficult, of accomplishment, while we on our part should be able to avoid any reproach and also to live in security. As things are now, people think that we kill many through resentment, many through lust for their money, others through fear of their bravery and others actually through jealousy of their virtues. For no one finds it easy to believe that a ruler who possesses so great authority and power can be the object of plotting on the part of an unarmed person in private station, but some invent the motives I have mentioned, and still others assert that many false accusations come to our ears and that we give heed to many idle rumours as if they were true. Spies, they say, and eavesdroppers get hold of such rumours, and then-actuated sometimes

τούς δε όργη, άλλους άργύριου παρά τών εχθρών αύτων λαβόντας, άλλους παρ' αὐτων έκείνων μη λαβόντας, πολλά και ψευδή σκευωρείσθαι φασιν. ού μόνον ότι τι δεινόν επραξάν τίνες ή και ποιήσειν μέλλουσι λέγοντας, άλλά και ότι ό μέν έφθένξατο τοιόνδε τι, ό δε ακούσας έσιώπησεν.

άλλος έγέλασεν, άλλος έδάκρυσεν.

" Μυρία αν τοιουτότροπα είπειν έγοιμι, α 19 εί και τὰ μάλιστα άληθή είη, άλλ' οὕτι γε καί προσήκοντά έστιν ούτε πολυπραγμονείσθαι παρ έλευθέροις ανθρώποις ούτε σοι διαγγέλλεσθαι. λαθύντα μέν γάρ τὰ τοιαύτα οὐδέν ἄν σε βλάψειεν, ακουσθέντα δέ παροξύνειε και άκοντα. 2 όπερ ήκιστα γρη άλλως τε καὶ άργουτί τινων συμβαίνειν. συχνούς γούν έκ τούτου, τούς μέν ακρίτους τους δε και εσκευωρημένη τινί καταγνώσει δικαστηρίου, άδίκως απόλλυσθαι πολλοί 1 νομίζουσιν ούτε γαρ τὰς μαρτυρίας ούτε τὰς βασάνους ούτ άλλο τι τών τοιούτων ώς καί 3 άληθες όν κατ' αύτων προσίενται, ταύτα γάρ ούτως, εί και μη δικαίως έστιν à αυτών, άλλ' έπι πάντων γε ώς είπειν των ούτω θανατουμένων θρυλείται. και δεί σε, ώ Λύγουστε, μη μώνου μηδέν άδικείν, άλλα μηδέ δοκείν, ίδιώτη μεν γάρ άρκει μηδέν πλημμελείν, άργοντι δέ δή προσήκει 4 μηδέ δόκησίν τινα αίτου λαμβάνειν. ανθρώπων γάρ, άλλ' οὐ θηρίων ήγεμονεύεις καὶ μόνως αν

^{**}sakai added by corrector in M, om. Xiph.
**a Xiph. V, om. M Xiph. C.

by enmity and sometimes by resentment, in some ALAS
cases because they have received money from the
foes of their victims, in other cases because they
have received none from the victims themselves—
concoct many falsehoods, reporting not only that
such and such persons have committed some outrage or are intending to commit it, but even that
when so-and-so made such and such a remark, soand-so heard it and was silent, a second person

laughed, and a third burst into tears.

"I could cite innumerable instances of such a kind, which, no matter how true they may be, are surely not proper subjects for gentlemen to concern themselves about or to be reported to you. Such rumours, if ignored, would do you no harm, but if listened to, would irritate you even against your will; and that is a thing by all means to be avoided. especially in one who rules over others. It is generally believed, at any rate, that many men are unjustly put to death as the result of such a feeling, some without a trial and others by a prearranged conviction in court; for the people will not admit that the testimony given or the statements made under torture or any evidence of that nature is true or suffices for the condemnation of the victims. This is the sort of talk that does, in fact, go the rounds, even though it is sometimes unjust, in the case of practically all who are put to death by action of the courts. And you, Augustus, ought not only to avoid unjust action, but even the suspicion of it; for though it is sufficient for a person in private station not to be guilty of wrongdoing, yet it behooves a ruler to incur not even the suspicion of wrongdoing. You are ruling over human beings, not wild

ούτως εύνοειν σοι αὐτοὺς άληθῶς πουήσειας, ᾶν πανταχόθεν σφᾶς καὶ διὰ πάντων όμοιως πείσης ὅτι μήτε ἐκών τινα μήτε ἄκων ἀδικήσεις. Φοβείσθαι μὲν γάρ τινα ἀναγκασθῆναί τις δύναται.

- δ φιλείν δὲ πεισθήναι ὀφείλει. πείθεται δὲ ἐξ ὧν ἀν αὐτός τε εὖ πάθη καὶ ἐτέρους εὖεργετουμένους ἔδη. ὑ δ᾽ ὑποτοπήσας μὴ δικαίως τινὰ ἀπολωλέναι καὶ φοβεῖται μὴ ποτέ τι ὅμοιον πάθη καὶ μισεῖν τὸν ὅράσαντα αὐτὰ ἀναγκάζεται. τὸ δὲ δὴ μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, πρὸς τῷ μηδος
- δ άλλως καλώς έχειν, άλυσιτελέστατόν έστι. και γάρ καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μἐν ἄλλοις ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πάντας τοὺς καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἀδικησαντάς σφας ἀμίνεσθαι, ἵνα μήτε καταφρονώνται μήτε ἐκ τούτου πλεονεκτώνται, τοὺς δ' ἄρχοντας τοῖς μὲν τὸ κοινὸν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπεξιέναι χρήναι, τοὺς δ' ίδία τι ἐς αὐτοὺς πλημμελεῖν δοκοῦντας φέρειν μήτε γὰρ ἐκ καταφρονήσεως μήτ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀδικηθήναὶ σφας δύνασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλὰ τὰ προφυλάσσοντα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.

20 "Ωστε έγωγε ταῦτά τε ἀκούουσα καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποβλέπουσα κινδυνεύω καὶ παντελῶς ἀπειπεῖν σοι μηδένα διὰ τοιοῦτό τι ἀποκτιννύναι.

2 αι τε γὰρ προστασίαι ἐπί τε τῆ τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρία καθίστανται, ὅπως μηδὲν μήθ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων βλάπτωνται, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐχ ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τι λυπῶνται.

i adicheres flor., adichenes M, adiches de Xiph.

beasts, and the only way you can make them truly AR. well disposed toward you is by convincing them, by every means and on every occasion consistently. that you will wrong no one, either purposely or unwittingly. A man can be compelled to fear another. but he ought to be persuaded to love him; and he is persuaded not only by the good treatment he himself receives, but also by the benefits he sees conferred on others. The man, however, who suspects that a certain person has been put to death unjustly both fears that he may some day meet a like fate and is compelled to bate the one who is responsible for the deed. And to be hated by one's subjects, quite apart from its being deplorable in general, is also exceedingly unprofitable. For most people feel that, although all other men must defend themselves against all who wrong them in any way or else become objects of contempt and so be oppressed. yet rulers ought to prosecute only those who wrong the state, tolerating those who are supposed to be committing offences against them privately; rulers, they reason, can not themselves be harmed either by contempt or by direct attack, inasmuch as there are many instrumentalities which protect them from best h.

"I, therefore, when I hear such considerations advanced and turn my thoughts to them, am inclined to go so far as to urge you to give up altogether the inflicting of the death penalty in any case for reasons of this kind. For the office of ruler has been established for the preservation of the governed, to prevent them from being injured either by one another or by foreign peoples, and not for a moment that they may be harmed by the rulers themselves;

και ευκλείστατον έστιν ου το πολλούς του πολιτών ἀπολλύναι, άλλά το πάντας, αν οίου τε ή. 3 σώζειν δύνασθαι. παιδεύειν μέν γαρ αυτούς και νόμοις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις καὶ νουθεσίαις δεί, όπως σωφρονώσι, και προσέτι και τηρείν και φυλάττειν, ίνα κάν άδικειν έθελήσωσι μη δυνηθώσιν άν δέ δή νοσήση τι, θεραπεύειν τε τρόπον τινά αυτό καὶ 4 έπανορθούν, ΐνα μη παντελός φθαρή. τό τε γαρ φέρειν τὰ τῶν πολλῶν άμαρτήματα καὶ πάνυ μεγάλης και φρονήσεως και δυνάμεως έργου έστίν αν τέ τις πάντα άπλως τὰ τοιαύτα κατὰ τὴν άξιαν κολάζη, λήσει τούς πλείους τών άνθρώπων δ ἀπολέσας. ὅθεν καὶ διὰ ταῦτά σοι γνώμην δίδωμε θανάτω μέν μηδένα των τοιούτων τιμωρείσθαι, έτέρως δέ πως αὐτούς, ώστε μηδέν έτι δεινόν δράσαι, σωφρονίζειν. τί γαρ αν άδικήσεις τις ές νήσον κατακλεισθείς, η καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ πόλει τέ τινι, ούχ όπως άνευ πλήθους οίκετων ή χρημάτων, άλλα και μετά φρουράς ών, αν γε και τούτου 6 δεήση; εί μεν γαρ έγγύς που ένταθθα οι πολέμιοι ήσαν, ή και της θαλάσσης ταύτης αλλότριών τι ήν, ώστε τινά αὐτών διαδράντα πρός ἐκείνους κακόν τι ήμας έργάσασθαι, πόλεις τέ τινες έν τή Ίταλία έχυραι και τείχη και όπλα έχουσαι υπήργον, ώστε τινά καταλαβόντα αύτας φοβερόν 7 ήμεν γενέσθαι, έτερος αν ήν λόγος αόπλων δέ δή πάντων των ταύτη και άτειχίστων ώς πρός πύλε-1 | R. Steph., ir M.

and the greatest glory is gained, not by putting and many citizens to death, but by being in a position to save them all, if that be possible. We must educate the citizens by means of laws and benefits and admonitions, in order that they may be rightminded, and furthermore, we must watch over them and guard them, in order that, even if they wish to do wrong, they may not be able to do so; and if there is any ailment among them, we must find some way to cure it and correct it, in order that the ailing member may not be utterly destroyed. To endure the offences of the multitude is a task demanding at once great prudence and great power; but if any one is going to punish them all without distinction as they deserve, before he knows it he will have destroyed the majority of mankind. Hence and for these reasons I give you my opinion to the effect that you should not inflict the death penalty upon any man for such offences, but should rather bring them to their senses in some other way, so that they will not in future commit any crime. What wrongdoing, indeed, could a man indulge in who is shut up on an island, or in the country, or in some city, not only deprived of a throng of servants and a supply of money, but also under guard, in case this, too, is necessary? Of course, if the enemy were anywhere near here or if some part of our sea belonged to a foreign power, so that one or another of the prisoners might escape to them and do us some harm, or if, again, there were strong cities in Italy with fortifications and armed forces, so that if a man seized them, he might become a menace to us, that would be a different story. But in fact all the places here are unarmed and without walls that

μον όντων, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παμπληθές ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφεστηκότων (πολλή μεν γὰρ θάλασσα πολλή δὲ καὶ γῆ, καὶ ὅρη καὶ ποταμούς δυσδιαβά8 τους ἔχουσα, διὰ μέσου ἐστί), τί ἄν τις φοβηθείη τὸν δείνα ἡ τὸν δείνα, γυμνούς, Ιδιωτεύοντας, ἐνταῦθά που ἐν μέση τῆ σῆ ἀρχῆ ὅντας καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν σῶν ὅπλων κατακεκλειμένους ¹; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὕτ' ἄν ἐννοῆσαὶ τινα τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, οὕτ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μανείη τις, δύνασθαί γὲ τι πρῶξαι νομίζω.

1 "Πείσαν οῦν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοίτων ἀρξάμενοι τοιν.

21 "Πείραν οδν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἀρξάμενοι ποιησώμεθα. τάχα γάρ αν καὶ αὐτοὶ μεταβάλουντο " και τούς άλλους αμείνους ποιήσειαν και γαρ όρας ότι και ο Κορνήλιος και εύγενης και όναμαστός έστι, δεί δέ που και ταθτα αυθρωπίνως 2 έκλογίζεσθαι. οὐ πάντα τοι τὸ ξίφος διαπράττεται (μέγα γαρ ήν αν ' άγαθον, εί σωφρονίζειν τέ τινας καὶ πείθειν ή καὶ καταναγκάζειν φιλείν τινά άληθώς εδύνατο), άλλά το μεν σωμά τινος φθείρειεν άν, τὰς δὲ δὴ τῶν άλλων ψυχὰς άλλοτριώσειεν ού γαρ έξ ών αν έτεροι τιμωρηθώσι, προσ. φιλέστεροί τινι, άλλ' έξ ών αν αυτοί φοβηθώσιν, 3 έχθίους γίγνονται. και ταύτα μέν ούτως έχει, οί δέ δή συγγρώμης τινός τυχόντες και μετανούσιν. αίσχυνόμενοι αθθίς τι τούς εύεργέτας άδικήσαι, και πολλά αυτοίς άνθυπουργούσω, ελπίζοντες πλείω αντ' εὐ πείσεσθαι ὑφ' οὐ γάρ αν τις άδικηθέντος τι σωθή, τούταν εὐ παθόντα οὐδέν ὁ τι

a st supplied by Pllagk.

^{*} катассадициторе Dinel., катассадентые м Xiph.

arrabitance Xiph., acrebitatore M. ar added by corrector of M (in margin), om. Xiph. flor.

would be of any value in war, and our enemies are separated from them by an immense distance; much sea and much land, including mountains and rivers hard to cross, lie between them and us. Why, then, should one fear this man or that, defenceless men in private station, here in the middle of your empire and hemmed in by your armed forces? For my part, I do not believe that any one could conceive any such plot as I have mentioned, or that the veriest madman could accomplish anything by it.

" Let us make the experiment, therefore, beginning with these very men. Perhaps they may not only be reformed themselves, but also make others better; for you see that Cornelius is both of good birth and famous, and we ought, I presume, to take human nature into account in reasoning out such matters also. The sword, surely, can not accomplish everything for you,-it would indeed be a great boon if it could bring men to their senses and persuade them or even compel them to love a ruler with genuine affection,-but instead, while it will destroy the body of one man, it will alienate the minds of the rest, For people do not become more attached to any one because of the vengeance they see meted out to others, but they become more hostile because of their fears. So much for that side; but as for those who are treated in a forgiving spirit, they not only repent, because they are ashamed to wrong their benefactors again, but also repay them with many services, hoping to receive still further kindnesses; for when a man has been spared by one who has been wronged. he believes that his rescuer, if fairly treated, will go

444

^{*} der' eð velarotar Dind., derrevrelarotar l'k., detreolarata. M Xiph.

4 ούκ εύεργετήσειν έαυτον ήγειται. πείσθητι ούν μοι, φίλτατε, και μεταβαλού. ούτω μέν γάρ καὶ τάλλα τὰ δυσχερή πάντα άνάγκη πεποιηκέναι δόξεις ου γάρ έστι πόλιν τηλικαύτην έκ δημοκρατίας πρός μουαρχίαν άγουτα άναιμωτί μεταστήσαι αν δε έπι τοις αυτοίς επιμένης, και έκεινα

γνώμη δεδρακέναι νομισθήση."

Ταύτα της Λιονίας είπούσης ο Λύγουστος έπείσθη τε αυτή, και άφηκε μέν πάντας τους υπαιτίους λόγοις τισί νουθετήσας, τον δε δή Κορνήλιον καί 2 υπατον ἀπέδειξε. κάκ τούτον καὶ ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους οῦτως ἀκειώσατο ὅστε μηδένα έτ' αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων μήτ' ὄντως ἐπιβουλεύσαι μήτε δόξαι ή γαρ δή Λιονία αίτιωτάτη τής σωτηρίας τω Κορνηλίω γενομένη ήμελλεν αὐτή την αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Λύγούστου λήψεσθαι.

Τότε δ' οψυ επί τε του Κορυηλίου και επί Οψαλερίου Μεσσάλου υπάτων σεισμοί τε έξαισιοι συνέβησαν, και ο Τίβερις την τε γέφυραν κατέσυρε και πλωτήν την πόλιν έπι έπτα ήμέρας έποίησε, του τε ήλίου τι έκλιπες εγένετο, και λιμός συνη-

4 νέγθη, κάν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτω ὅ τε Αγρίππας ές εφήβους, μηδενός των αυτών τοις άδελφοίς τυχών, έσεγράφη και τὰς ίπποδρομίας χωρίς μέν οί βουλευταί χωρίς δε οί ίππης από του λοιπού

5 πλήθους είδου, ο και νύν γίγνεται. ἐπειδή τε οὐ ραδίως οι πάνυ εύγενεις τὰς θυγατέρας ές την τής Εστίας ίερατείαν επεδίδοσαν, ένομοθετήθη και εξ

детаВалой Xiph., иставаллав М. bridage M Xiph., wpocuredeger Zan.

to any lengths in his benefactions. Heed me, there- an a fore, dearest, and change your course; if you do, all your other acts that have caused displeasure will be thought to have been dictated by necessity, - indeed, it is impossible for a man to guide so great a city from democracy to monarchy and make the change without bloodshed,-but if you continue in your old policy, you will be thought to have done these un-

pleasant things deliberately."

Augustus heeded these suggestions of Livia and released all the accused with some words of admonition; and he even appointed Cornelius consul. As a result of this course he so conciliated both him and the other persons so treated that neither they nor any one of the rest thereafter either actually plotted against him or was suspected of doing so. It was rather Livia herself, who was chiefly responsible for saving the life of Cornelius, that was to be charged with plotting the death of Augustus.

At this time, in the consulship of Cornelius and Las Valerius Messalla, violent earthquakes occurred and the Tiber carried away the bridge and made the city navigable for seven days; there was also a partial eclipse of the sun, and famine set in. This same year Agrippa was enrolled among the youths of military age, but obtained none of the same privileges as his brothers. The senators witnessed the Circensian games separately and the knights also separately from the remainder of the populace, as is the case to-day also. And since the noblest families did not show themselves inclined to give their daughters to be priestesses of Vesta, a law was passed that the daughters of freedmen might like-

451

άπελευθέρων γεγεννημένας ίερασθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν κλήρος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πλείους ἡμφεσβήτησαν, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίω παρόντων τῶν πατέρων σφῶν, ὅσοι γε ἴππευον. ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τοιαύτη τις

απεδείχθη.

3 Χαλεπώς δε δη τών στρατιωτών προς την τών άθλων σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ένεστηκότας οὐχ ήκιστα ἐχύντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρύνου ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῦς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὅορυφορικοῦ πεντακισχιλίας ὅραχμάς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἐτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὰν 2 εἴκοσι στρατεύσωνται, δίδοσθαι. τρία δὲ ὅη τότε καὶ εἰκοσι στρατόπεδα, ἡ ὡς γε ἔτεροι λέγουσι

πάντε καὶ είκοσι, πολιτικὰ ἐτρέφετο. νῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐννεακαίδεκα ἐξ αὐτῶν μόνα διαμένει, τό τε δευτερου τὸ Αὐγούστειον τὸ ἐν Βρεττανία τῷ ἄνω χειμάζον, καὶ τὰ τρία τὰ τρίτα, τό τε ἐν Φοινίκη τὸ Γαλατικόν, καὶ τὸ ἐν Άραβία τὸ Κυρηναϊκόν.

3 τό τε ἐν Νουμιδία τὸ Αὐγούστειου τέταρτον Σκυθικὸν ἐν Συρία, πέμπτον Μακεδονικον ἐν Δακία, ἔκτα δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐν Βρεττανία τῆ κάτω, τὸ τῶν νικητόρων, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαία, τὸ σιδηροῦν, τέτακται καὶ οἱ ἔβδομοι οἱ ἐν τῆ Μυσία τῆ ἄνω, οἱ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὧνομάδαται, οῖ τε ὅγδοοι Αὐγούστειοι, ἐν τῆ Γερμανία τῆ ἄνω ὅντες.

4 καὶ οἱ δέκατοι ἐκάτεροι,⁶ οἶ τε ἐν Παννονία τῆ ἄνω οἱ διδυμοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἰουδαία τό τε ἐνδέκατον τὸ

1 lepüebas R. Stoph., lepwobas M.

a Abyovererer Xiph., abyoverson M (and similarly just below).

² ήμφοσβήτησαν Βα., άμφοσβήτησαν Μ (but in margin γρ. ήμφοσβήτησαν).

wise become priestesses. Many vied for the honour, and and so they drew lots in the senate in the presence of their fathers, so far as these were knights; however, no priestess was appointed from this class.

The soldiers were sorely displeased at the paltry character of the rewards given them for the wars which had been waged at this time and none of them consented to bear arms for longer than the regular period of his service. It was therefore voted that twenty thousand sesterces should be given to members of the pretorian guard when they had served sixteen years, and twelve thousand to the other soldiers when they had served twenty years. Twenty-three, or, as others say, twenty-five, legions of citizen soldiers were being supported at this time.1 At present only nineteen of them still exist, as follows: the Second (Augusta), with its winter quarters in Upper Britain; the three Thirds-the Galliea in Phoenicia, the Cyrenaica in Arabia, and the Augusta in Numidia; the Fourth (Scythica) in Syria; the Fifth (Macedonica) in Dacia; the two Sixths, of which the one (Victrix) is stationed in Lower Britain, the other (Ferrata) in Judaea; the Seventh (generally called Claudia?) in Upper Moesia; the Eighth (Augusta) in Upper Germany; the two Tenths in upper Pannonia (Gemina) and in Judaea; the Eleventh (Claudia) in

* Cf. lx. 15, 4.

of Te Xiph., of Se M.

¹ The confusion is due to the fact that after the defeat of Varus there were but twenty-three legions left (out of twenty-six); but Augustus later increased the number to twenty-five.

at R. Steph., el M Xiph

^{*} Sécaros dedrepos Reim., Sendrepos M., Sécaros Xiph.

έν Μυσία τῆ κάτω, τὸ Κλαυδίειον ούτω γάρ τὰ δύο στρατόπεδα άπο του Κλαυδίου έπεκλήθη, ότι αὐτῶ ἐν τῆ τοῦ Καμίλλου ἐπαναστάσει μη ἀντεο πολέμησε και το δωδέκατον το έν Καππαδοκία τὸ κεραυνοφόρον, τό τε τρίτον καὶ δέκατον τὸ έν Δακία το δίδυμον, καὶ το τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον το έν Παννονία τη άνω το δίδυμον, τό τε πεντεκαιδέη κατον το Απολλώνειον το έν Καππαδοκία και οί είκοστοι οί και Ούαλερίειοι και νικήτορες ώνομασμένοι καὶ έν Βρεττανία τῆ άνω όντες οὐστινας ο Αύγουστος, έμοι δοκείν, μετά τών τήν τε τού δευτέρου και είκοστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν ἐχόντων και ἐν 3 τη Γερμανία τη άνω χειμαζόντων, εί και τα μάλιστα μήθ' υφ' απάντων Ουαλερίειοι έπεκλήθησαν μήτε νύν έτι τη προσηγορία ταύτη χρώνται. 7 παραλαβών έτήρησε, ταυτ' έκ τών Αυγουστείων στρατοπέδων σώζεται τὰ γὰρ δὴ λοιπὰ τὰ μέν παντελίος διελύθη, τὰ δέ καὶ έτέροις τισίν ύπό τε αύτου έκείνου και ύπ' άλλων αυτοκρατόρων άνεμίχθη, άφ' ούπερ και δίδυμα ωνομασμένα νενόщотас.

24 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄπαξ ἐς τὸν περὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόγον προήχθην, καὶ τάλλα τὰ νῦν ὅντα, ῶς που πρὸς τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐταρχησάντων κατελέχθη, φράσω, Γν ἐνὶ χωρίω πάντα γεγραμμένα ἡαδίως 2 τον βουλόμενον τι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν διδάσκη. ὅ τε γὰρ Νέρων τὸ πρῶτον τὸ καὶ Ἱταλικὸν ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ ἐν τῆ κάτω Μυσία χειμάζον, καὶ ὁ

1 & Abyoneras Bk., abrobs M.

² deprepar and supplied by Mommson.

de supplied by Xyl.

Lower Moesia (for two legions were thus named after and Claudius because they had not fought against him in the rebellion of Camillus 1); the Twelfth (Fulminata) in Cappadocia; the Thirteenth (Gemina) in Dacia; the Fourteenth (Gemina) in Upper Pannonia; the Fifteenth (Apollinaris) in Cappadocia; the Twentieth (called both Valeria and Victrix) in Upper Britain-These latter, I believe, were the troops which Augustus took over and retained, along with those called the Twenty-second who are quartered in Germany,3 -and this in spite of the fact that they were by no means called Valerians by all and do not use that name any longer. These are the legions that still remain out of those of Augustus; of the rest, some were disbanded altogether, and others were merged with various legions by Augustus himself and by other emperors, in consequence of which such legions have come to bear the name Gemina.

Now that I have once been led into giving an account of the legions, I shall speak of the other legions also which exist to-day and tell of their enlistment by the emperors subsequent to Augustus, my purpose being that, if any one desires to learn about them, the statement of all the facts in a single portion of my book may provide him easily with the information. Nero organized the First Legion, called the Italica, which has its winter quarters in

⁵ Cf. lx. 15, 4.

⁹ Dio is in error here; the Twenty-second (Primigenia) was organized by Claudius and therefore should be to the list of later legious given in chap. 24.

Γάλβας τό τε πρώτου τὸ ἐπικουρικὸυ τὸ ἐν τῷ 3 Παννουία τῷ κάτω καὶ τὸ ἔβδομου τὸ δίδυμου τὸ ἐν Ίβηρία συνέταξαν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς τό τε δεύτερου τὸ ἐπικουρικὸυ τὸ ἐν Παννουία τῷ κάτω καὶ τὸ τέταρτου τὸ Φλαουίειου τὸ ἐν Μυσία τῷ ἄνω, τό τε ἐκκαιδέκατου τὸ Φλαουίειου τὸ ἐν Συρία, Δομιτιανὸς τὸ πρώτου τὸ ᾿Αθηναῖου τὸ ἐν Γερμανία τῷ κάτω, Τραιανὸς τὸ δεύτερου τὸ Αἰγύ πτιου καὶ τὸ τριακοστὸν τὸ Γερμανικόυ, ἃ καὶ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμασεν, ᾿Αντωνίνος ὁ Μᾶρκος τὸ τε δεύτερου τὸ ἐν Νωρίκω καὶ τὸ τρίτου τὸ ἐν Ῥαιτία, ἃ καὶ Ἰταλικὰ κέκληται, Σεουῆρος τὰ Παρθικά, τὸ τε πρώτου καὶ τὸ τρίτου τὰ ¹ ἐν Μεσοποταμία, καὶ τὸ διὰ μέσου τὸ δεύτερον τὸ ἐν τῆ Ἰταλία.

δ Νου μεν δη τοσαύτα τείχη των έκ τοῦ καταλόγου στρατευομένων έξω τοῦ τε ἀστικοῦ καὶ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ ἔστι, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυγούστου ταῦτά τε, εἴτ οὖν τρία εἴτε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντα, ἐτρέφετο, καὶ συμμαχικὰ καὶ πεζών καὶ ἐπτέων καὶ ναυτών ὁσαδήποτε ἢν οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τὸ

κ άκριβές εἰπεῖν οἶ τε σωματοφύλακες μύριοι ὅντες καὶ δεκαχῆ τεταγμένοι, καὶ οἰ τῆς πόλεως φρουροὶ ἔξακισχίλιοί τε ἄντες καὶ τετραχῆ νενεμημένοι.

7 ξένοι τε ίππης ἐπίλεκτοι, οἰς τὸ τῶν Βατάουων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάουας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ρήνω νήσου ὄνομα.

8 ότι δὴ κράτιστοι ἐππεύειν εἰσί, κεῖται οὐ μέντοι ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν ἀκριβῆ, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀνακλήτων, εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἤρξατο μὲν νομίζειν ἀφὸ οὐ τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους τῷ πατρὶ

Lower Moesia; Galba the First (Adintrix), with quarters in Lower Pannonia, and the Seventh (Gemina), in Spain; Vespasian the Second (Adintrix), in Lower Pannonia, the Fourth (Flavia), in Upper Moesia, and the Sixteenth (Flavia), in Syria; Domitian the First (Minervia), in Lower Germany; Trajan the Second (Aegyptia) and the Thirtieth (Germanica), both of which he also named after himself; Marcus Antoninus the Second, in Noricum, and the Third, in Rhaetia, both of which are called Italica; and Severus the Parthicae—the First and Third, quartered in Mesopotamia, and the Second,

quartered in Italy.

This is at present the number of the legions of regularly enrolled troops, exclusive of the city cohorts and the pretorian guard; but at that time, in the days of Augustus, those I have mentioned were being maintained, whether the number is twentythree or twenty-five, and there were also allied forces of infantry, cavalry, and sailors, whatever their numbers may have been (for I can not state the exact figures). Then there were the body-guards. ten thousand in number and organized in ten divisions, and the watchmen of the city, six thousand in number and organized in four divisions; and there were also picked foreign horsemen, who were given the name of Batavians, after the island of Batavia in the Rhine, inasmuch as the Batavians are excellent horsemen. I can not, however, give their exact number any more than I can that of the Evocati." These last-named Augustus began to make a practice of employing from the time when he called again

? That is, the " Recalled." Cf. xiv. 12, 3.

¹ The Second was called Traiana and the Thirtieth Ulpia.

πρός τὰ ὅπλα αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αντώνιον ἀνεκάλεσεν, ἐτήρησε δέ· καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νὖν σύστημα ἔδιον, ῥάβδους φέροντες ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκατόνταρχοι.

Δι' οὖν ταῦτ' ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, γνώμην ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσήνεγκε πόρον τινὰ διαρκῆ καὶ ἀείνων ἀποδειχθῆναι, ὅπως μηδενὸς ἔξωθεν μηδεν λυπουμένου ἀφθόνως ἐκ τῶν τεταγμένων καὶ τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὰ γέρα λαμβάνωσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐζητεῖτο, ἐπειδή τε μηδεὶς ἀγορανομῆσαι ἐκὼν ἤθελεν, ἡναγκάσθησαν ἔκ τε τῶν τεταμιευκότων καὶ ἐκ τῶν δεδημαρχηκότων κλήρω τινὲς αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι,

25 καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοτε πολλάκις ἐγένετο μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπί τε Λίμιλίου Λεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Λουκίου 'Αρρουντίου ὑπάτου, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς πόρος ἀρέσκων τισὶν εὐρίσκετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πάντες ὅτι

2 καὶ ἐζητεῖτο ἐβαρύνοντο, ἐσήνεγκεν ὁ Αὐγονστος χρήματα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τεβερίου ἐς τὸ ταμιεῖον, ὁ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ τρισὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη διοικεῖν προσέταξε, ῥαβδούχοις τ' ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τῆ ἄλλη ὑπηρεσία τῆ προσηκούση χρω-

3 μένοις. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη κατά διαδοχὴν ἐγένετο νῦν γὰρ καὶ αἰροῦνται πρὸς τοῦ ἀεὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ χωρὶς ραβδούχων περιίασιναὐτός τε οὖν συνεσήνεγκέ τινα, καὶ τοῦτο κατ ἔτος πράξειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ παρὰ βασιλέων δή-

³ defruer Dind., desror M.

into service against Antony the troops who had so served with his father, and he maintained them afterwards; they constitute even now a special corps,

and carry rods, like the centurions.

Now Augustus lacked funds for all these troops, and therefore he introduced a proposal in the senate that revenues in sufficient amount and continuing from year to year should be set aside, in order that the soldiers might receive without stint from the taxes levied their maintenance and bonuses without any outside source being put to annoyance. The means for such a fund were accordingly sought Now when no one showed a willingness to become aedile, some men from the ranks of the ex-quaestors and ex-tribunes were compelled by lot to take the office-a thing which happened on many other occasions.1 After this, in the consulship of Aemilius and Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, when no revenues for the military fund were being discovered that suited anybody, but absolutely everybody was vexed because such an attempt was even being made, Augustus in the name of himself and of Tiberius placed money in the treasury which he called the military treasury,2 and commanded that three of the ex-practors, to be chosen by lot, should administer it for three years, employing two lictors apiece and such further assistance as was fitting. This method was followed with the successive incumbents of the office for many years; but at present they are chosen by the emperor and they go about without lictors. Now Augustus made a contribution himself toward the fund and promised to do so annually, and he also

3 Acrurium militare.

Cf. alix, 16, 2; lin. 2, 2; liv. 11, 1.

μων τε τινών έπαγγελίας εδέξατο παρά γάρ των ίδιωτών, καίπερ συγνών έθελοντί, ώς γε έλεγον. 4 επιδιδόντων τι, οὐδεν ελαβεν. ώς δ΄ οὐν ταυτά τε ελάγιστα πρός το πλήθος των αναλισκομένων ην και άθανάτου τινός εύπορίας έδειτο, προσέταξε τοίς βουλευταίς ζητήσαι πόρους ίδια και καθ' έαυτου έκαστου, καὶ τούτους ές βιβλία γράψαντας δούναί οἱ διασκέψασθαι, ούχ ότι οὐκ έπενδει τινά, άλλ' δπως δτι μάλιστα αὐτούς ο πείση ου έβούλετο έλέσθαι. αμέλει άλλων άλλα έσηγησαμένων έκείνων μέν οὐδεν 1 έδοκίμασε, την δ' είκοστην τών τε κλήρων και τών δωρεών, ας άν οί τελευτώντες τισε πλην τών πάνυ συγγενών ή και πενήτων καταλείπωσι, κατεστήσατο, όκ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήμασι τὸ τέλος ο τούτο γεγραμμένον εύρων έσηκτο μέν γάρ και πρότερον ποτε, καταλυθέν δε μετά ταύτα αύθις τότε έπανήγθη. τὰς μέν οὐν προσόδους οὕτως έπηύξησε, τὰ δ' ἀναλώματα διὰ τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ύπατευκότων, ούς ο κλήρος απέφηνε, τα μέν

συνέστειλε τὰ δὲ καὶ παυτάπασι διέγραψε.
26 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ελύπει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ λιμὸς ἰσχυρός, ὥσθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τούς τε μονομαχοῦντας καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ὥνια ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐπτακοσίους σταδίους ἐξωσθῆναι, ἔκ τε τῆς θεραπείας καὶ τὸν Αύγουστον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸ πλεῖον ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ δικῶν ἀνοχὰς γενίσθαι, ἐκδημεῖν τε τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἔνθα ἀν ἐθελήσωσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι. καὶ ὅπως γ' ἀν μηδὲν ἐκ τούτον τὰ δόγματα ἐμποδί-

accepted voluntary contributions from kings and ARE certain communities; but he took nothing from private citizens, although a considerable number made offers of their own free will, as they at least alleged. But as all this proved very slight in comparison with the amount being spent and there was need of some permanent supply, he ordered each one of the senators to seek out sources of revenue, each independently of the others, to write them in books. and give them to him to consider. This was not because he had no plan of his own, but as the most certain means of persuading them to choose the plan he preferred. At all events, when different men had proposed different schemes, he approved none of them, but established the tax of five per cent, on the inheritances and bequests which should be left by people at their death to any except very near relatives or very poor persons, representing that he had found this tax set down in Caesar's memoranda, It was, in fact, a method which had been introduced once before, but had been abolished later, and was now revived. In this way, then, he increased the revenues; as for the expenditures, he employed three ex-consuls, chosen by lot, by whose help he reduced some of them and altogether abolished others.

This was not the only source of trouble to the Romans; for there was also a severe famine. In consequence of this, the gladiators, and the slaves who were for sale, were banished to a distance of one hundred miles, Augustus and the other officials dismissed the greater part of their retinues, a recess of the courts was taken, and senators were permitted to leave the city and to proceed wherever they pleased. And in order that their absence might not

ζηται, κύρια πάντα τὰ γιγνωσκόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων εἶναι ἐκελεύσθη. καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἄνδρες ὑπατευκότες ἐπί τε τοῦ σίτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρτου κατέστησαν, ὡστε τακτὸν ἔκάστῷ 3 πιπράσκεσθαι. ἐπέδωκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ προῖκα ὁ Λύγουστος τοῖς σιτοδοτουμένοις τοσοῦτον ἔτερον ὅσον ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανον ὡς δ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνό σφισιν ἐξήρκεσεν, οὐδὲ ἐς τὰ ἐαυτοῦ γενέθλια δημοσία

αύτους έστιαθήναι είασεν.

4 Επειδή τε έν τῷ χρόνω τούτω πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ διεφθάρη, ἄνδρας τε έξελευθέρρυς ἐπταχῆ πρὸς τὰς ἐπικουρίας αὐτῆς κατελέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἰππέα αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν, ὡς καὶ δι δ όλίγου σφᾶς διαλύσων. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐποίιμσε τοῦτο καταμαθών γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτην καὶ ἀναγκαιστάτην τὴν παρ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν οὖσαν ἐτήρησεν αὐτούς. καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοφύλακες οὐτοι Ιδιόν τινα τρόπον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων στρατευόμενοι, καὶ τείχη τε ἐν τῆ πόλει ἔχουσι καὶ μισθὸν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου φέρουσιν.

²⁷ Ο δ' οὐν ὅμιλος, οἰα ὑπὸ τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦς θ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπολωλόσι κεκακωμένος, ἤσχαλλε, καὶ πολλὰ μἐν καὶ φανερῶς νεωτεροποιά ¹ διελάλουν, πλείω δὲ δὴ ② βιβλία νύκτωρ ἐξετίθεσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐλέγετο μὲν ἐκ παροσκευῦς Πουτλίου καὶ Ἡν.

μέν έκ παρασκευής Πουπλίου τινός 'Ρούφου γίγνεσθαι, ύπωπτεύετο δε ές ἄλλους ο μέν γάρ

reperced Lennel, represent two rected from reservoise.) M.

prevent decrees from being passed, a ruling was not made that all decisions reached by those in attendance at any meeting should be valid. Moreover, ex-consuls were appointed to have oversight over the grain and bread supplies, so that only a fixed quantity should be sold to each person. Augustus, to be sure, gave free of cost to those who were receiving doles of corn as much again in every case as they were already getting; but when even that did not suffice for their needs, he forbade even the

holding of public banquets on his birthday.

When many parts of the city were at this time destroyed by fire, he organized a company of freedmen, in seven divisions, to render assistance on such occasions, and appointed a knight in command over them, expecting to disband them in a short time. He did not do so, however; for he found by experience that the aid they gave was most valuable and necessary, and so retained them. These nightwatchmen exist to the present day, as a special corps, one might say, recruited no longer from the freedmen only, but from the other classes as well. They have barracks in the city and draw pay from the public treasury.

Now the masses, distressed by the famine and the tax and the losses sustained in the fire, were ill at ease, and they not only openly discussed numerous plans for a revolution, but also posted at night even more numerous bulletins. Word was given out that all this had been planned and managed by one Publius 1 Rufus, but suspicion was directed to others;

³ The same man, evidently, who is called Plantins Ruins by Sustoning (Aug. 19); his whole name may have been Publics Plantins Ruins.

'Ρουφος ούτε ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι αύτων αυτε πράξαι ἐδύνατο, ἔτεροι δὲ τῷ ἐκείνου ὀνόματι καταχρώ-

3 μενοι καινοτομείν έπιστεύοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζήτησίς τε αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσθη καὶ μήνυτρα προετέθη μηνύσεις τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐταράττετο, μέχρις οὖ ἡ τε σιτοδεία ἐπαύσατο, καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνες ἐπὶ τῷ Δρούσω πρός τε τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ πρὸς Γιβερίου Κλαυδίου Νέρωνος, τῶν υίἐων αὐτοῦ,

4 ἐγένοντο, τοῦτό τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Δρούσου μνήμη παρεμυθήσατο, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Διοσκάρειου¹ ὁ Τιβέριος καθιερώσας οὐ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μόνου ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Κλαυδιανὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου γένος ἐκποίησιν ὀνομάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπέ-

5 γραψε. τά τε γὰρ τῶν πολέμων ἄμα διφκει, καὶ ες τὴν πόλιν, όπότε παράσχοι, συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα. τὸ μέν τι πραγμάτων τινῶν ἔνεκα, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον φοβούμενος μὴ ὁ Αῦγουστος ἄλλον τινὰ

παρά την άπουσίαν αύτου προτιμήση.

Γαῦτά τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τούτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς ᾿Αχαίας ἄρχων μεσούσης που τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε ταμία καὶ τῷ παρέδρῳ αὐτοῦ, ὁν πρεσβευτήν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλοῦμεν, τῷ μὲν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τῷ ἐἐ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικῆσαι προσετάχθη. ὅ τε Ἡρώδης ὁ Παλαιστῖνος, αἰτίαν τινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβών, ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἅλπεις

¹ Acorsepsion Dind., Secretipesor M. 1 rapid Bk., rapidia M.

BOOK LV

for as Rufus could neither have devised nor accom- an a plished any of these things, it was believed that others, making use of his name, were planning a revolution. Therefore an investigation of the affair was voted for and rewards for information were announced. Information began to be offered, and this also contributed to the commotion in the city. lasted until the scarcity of grain was at an end and gladiatorial games in honour of Drusus were given by Germanicus Caesar and Tiberius Claudius Nero. For this mark of honour to the memory of Drusus comforted the people, and also the dedication by Tiberius of the temple of Castor and Pollux, upon which he inscribed not only his own name, -ealling himself Claudianus instead of Claudius, because of his adoption into the family of Augustus, -but also that of Drusus. Tiberius, it should be explained. continued to carry on the wars, and at the same time visited the city repeatedly whenever the opportunity offered; this was partly, to be sure, on account of various business, but chiefly because he was afraid that Augustus might take advantage of his absence to show preference to somebody else.

These were the events in the city that year. In Achain the governor died in the middle of his term and instructions were given to his quaestor and to his assessor (whom, as I have stated, we call envoy) for the former to administer the province as far as the Isthmus and the other the remainder. Herod of Palestine, who was accused by his brothers of some wrongdoing or other, was banished beyond the

³ Cf. liii, 14, 6,

Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, who used the name Herod on his coinage.

ύπερωρίσθη, και το μέρος της άρχης αύτου

έδημοσιώθη.

Κάν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις χρόνοις καὶ πόλεμοι πολλοὶ ἐγένοντο. καὶ γὰρ λησταὶ συχνὰ κατέτρεχον, ὥστε τὴν Σαρδω μηδ ¹ ἄρχοντα βουλευτὴν ἔτεσί τισι σχεῖν, ἀλλὰ στρατιώταις τε καὶ ² στρατιάρχαις ἱππεῦσιν ἐπιτραπῆναι· καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτέριζον, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθνεσι, καὶ αἰρετούς γε ἀντὶ τῶν κληρωτῶν, ἄρξαι· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσετάττετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς ἔπεξάξω· Ἰ πολλά τε γὰρ ὡς ἐκαστοις καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογα συνηνέχθη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀν ³ λεπτολογηθέντα ὡφελήσειε. τά γε μὴν μνήμης τινὸς ἄξια κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μεγίστων. ἐρῶ.

Ίσαυροί τε γὰρ ἐκ ληστείας ἀρξάμενοι καὶ ἐς πολέμου δεινότητα προήχθησαν, μέχρις οὐ κατεδαμάσθησαν καὶ Γαίτουλοι τῷ τε Ἰούβα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἄμα ἀπαξιοῦντες μὴ οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆν τε πρόσχωρον ἐπὑρθησαν καὶ συχνοὺς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντάς σφισιν ἀπέκτειναν, τό τε σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπηυξήθησαν ὥστε Κορνήλιον Κόσσον τὸν κατεργασάμενὸν σφας τιμάς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπωσυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ταῦτά τε ἄμα ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι

¹ and Rk , and M roir Reim., do rois M.

^{*} éveldes Reim., evelte M. * edler år Piligk, oblisa M. * Pairondes (Parrolles) R. Steph., perolles M.

BOOK LV

Alps and his portion of the domain was confiscated to the state.

During this same period many wars also took place. Pirates overran a good many districts, so that Sardinia had no senator as governor for some years, but was in charge of soldiers with knights as commanders. Not a few cities rebelled, with the result that for two years the same men held office in the provinces which belonged to the people and were appointed 1 instead of being chosen by lot; of course the provinces which belonged to Caesar were. in any case, assigned to the same men for a longer period. But I shall not go into all these matters minutely, for many things not worthy of record happened in individual instances and their recital in detail would serve no useful purpose. I shall give simply the events worthy of some mention and very briefly at that, except in the case of those of greatest importance.

The Isaurians began with marauding expeditions, but were led on into all the horrors of war, until they were utterly subdued. The Gaetulians, also, were discontented with their king. Juba, and scorning the thought that they, too, should be ruled over by the Romans, rose against him. They ravaged the neighbouring territory, slew many even of the Romans who made a campaign against them, and, in fine, gained so great headway that Cornelius Cossus, who subjugated them, received triumphal honours and also a title from them. While these events were occurring, expeditions against the Germans also were being conducted by various leaders,

* Gastalieus

By Augustus, naturally,

τινές, έστράτευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος. καὶ μέχρι γε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Οὐισούργον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ 'Αλβίου, προεχώρησεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιομνημόνευτόν τι τότε γε ἐπράχθη, δ καίτοι καὶ αὐτοκράτορος μὴ ὅτι τοῦ Λὐγούστον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐπ' αὐτοῦς κληθέντος, καὶ τιμὰς ἐπινικίους Γαίου Σεντίου τοῦ τῆς Γερμανίας ἄρχοντος λαβύτος, ἐπειδὴ μὴ μόνον ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, φοβηθέντες αὐτούς, ἐσπείσαντο. αἴτια δὲ τοῦ καίπερ παρασπανδήσασί σφισι δι' ὀλίγου αὐθις τὴν εἰρήνην δοθῆναι τά τε τῶν Δελματῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Παννονίων, μειζόνως τε ταραχθέντα καὶ ὀξείας ἐπιστροφῆς δεηθέντα,

έγένετα.

29 Ταίς γάρ ἐσφοραίς τῶν χρημάτων οἱ Δελμάται Βαρυνόμενοι του μεν έμπροσθε χρόνον καὶ ἄκοντες ησύναζον ώς δ δ τε Τιβέριος έπὶ τους Κελτούς τὸ δεύτερον ἐστράτευσε, καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσαλίνος ο τότε και της Δελματίας και της Παυρονίας άρχων αυτός τε σύν έκείνω έστάλη και το πολύ 2 του στρατού συνεξήγαγε, καί τινα καὶ σφείς δύναμιν πέμψαι κελευσθέντες συνήλθόν τε έπὶ τούτω και την ηλικίαν σφών ανθούσαν είδον. ούκέτι διεμέλλησαν, άλλ' ένάγοντος αύτους ότι μάλιστα Βάτωνός τινος Δησιδιάτου το μέν πρώτον όλίγοι τινές ένεωτέρισαν και τους Ρωμαίους έπελθόντας σφίσιν έσφηλαν, έπειτα δὲ ἐκ τούτου 3 και οι άλλοι προσαπέστησαν, και μετά τούτο και Βρεύκοι Παννονικόν έθνος, Βάτωνα και αύτοι έτερον προστησάμενοι, έπί τε το Σίρμιον και έπί τούς έν αύτῷ Ρωμαίους ὥρμησαν, καὶ έκεῖνο

¹ Οδισούργου Reith., σούγρου Μ.

especially Tiberius. He advanced first to the river Visurgis and later as far as the Albis, but nothing noteworthy was accomplished at this time, although not only Augustus but also Tiberius was called imperator because of the campaign, and Gaius Sentius, the governor of Germany, received triumphal honours, inasmuch as the Germans, through their fear of the Romans, made a truce, not merely once, but twice. The reason that peace was granted them a second time, in spite of their having broken their truce so soon, was that the Dalmatians and Pannonians were in a state of great disturbance and required sharp attention.

The Dalmatians, chafing under the levies of tribute, had hitherto kept quiet, though unwillingly. But when Tiberius made his second campaign against the Germans, and Valerius Messallinus, the governor of Dalmatia and Pannonia at the time, was sent out with him, taking most of his army along, the Dalmatians, too, were ordered to send a contingent; and on coming together for this purpose and beholding the strength of their warriors, they no longer delayed, but, under the vehement urging of one Bato, a Desidiatian, at first a few revolted and defeated the Romans who came against them, and then the rest also rebelled in consequence of this success. Next the Breueians, a Pannonian tribe, put another Bate at their head and marched against Sirmium and the Romans in that town. They did

μεν ούκ εξείλον (αισθόμενος γάρ της έπαναστάσεως αὐτῶν Καικίνας Σεουήρος ὁ τῆς πλησιοχώρου Μυσίας άργων ἐπῆλθέ τε αὐτοῖς διὰ ταγέων περί του Δράουου ποταμόν ούσι και συμβαλών ένίκησεν), αναμαχέσεσθαι² δέ πη δια βραχέος, έπειδή και των Ρωμαίων συχνοί ἐπεπτώκεσαν, έλπίσαντες πρός παράκλησιν συμμάχων έτρά-4 πουτο, και οι μέν συνίστων όσους έδύναντο, έν δε τούτω ο Βάτων ο Δελμάτης έπι Σάλωνα στρατεύσας αύτος μέν λίθη χαλεπώς πληγείς ούδεν έπραξεν, έτέρους δέ τινας πέμψας πάντα τὰ παραθαλάσσια μέχριτής Απολλωνίας έλυμήνατο, καί τινι ένταθθα μάχη 3 δι' αὐτών τους προσμίξαντάς σφισι 'Ρωμαίους, καίπερ προηττηθείς,' 30 άντεπεκράτησε. πυθόμενος ούν ταῦθ΄ ὁ Τιβέριος. και φοβηθείς μη και ές την Ίταλίαν έσβάλωσιν, έκ τε της Κελτικής ανέστρεψε, και τον Μεσσαλίνον προπέμψας αύτος τω πλείονι του στρατού 2 έφείπετο. αίσθόμενος δέ τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ο Βάτων απήντησε τῷ Μεσσαλίνω, καίπερ μηδέπω καλώς έχων, και επικρατέστερος αυτού εν παρατάξει γενομενος έπειτ' έξ ενέδρας ενικήθη. κάκ τούτου πρός τε του Βάτωνα του Βρεύκου ηλθε, και κοινωσάμενος αύτω τον πόλεμον όρος 3 τι 'Αλμάν κατέλαβε κάνταύθα πρός μέν του Ρυμητάλκου του Θρακός, προπεμφθέντος έπ αύτους ύπο του Σεουήρου, βραχεία τενὶ μάχη ήττήθησαν, προς δ' αυτόν έκείνου ίσχυρώς άντ-4 έσγου. καὶ μετά ταῦτα τοῦ τε Σεουήρου ές την Μυσίαν διά τε τους Δακούς και διά τους

^{*} Kansiras R. Steph., cal nirras M. * áranaxiorasas M., dranaxiorasas Dind., áranaxionasas M.

not capture the place, however, for Caecina Severus, La. 6 the governor of the neighbouring province of Moesia, marched rapidly against them, when he heard of their uprising, and joining battle with them near the river Dravus, vanquished them; but hoping in some way to renew the struggle soon, since many of the Romans also had fallen, they turned their attention to summoning their allies and were getting together as many as they could. Meanwhile the Dalmatian Bato marched upon Salonae, where he was badly wounded by a stone missile and so accomplished nothing himself; but he sent out some others, who wrought havor along the whole sea-coast as far as Apollonia, and at that point, in spite of having been first defeated, won a battle in turn against the Romans who engaged them. Now when Tiberius learned of this, fearing that they might invade Italy, he returned from Germany, sending Messallinus ahead and following himself with most of his army. Bato learned of their approach, and although not yet well, went to meet Messallinus; and though he proved stronger than Messallinus in open conflict, he was afterward defeated by an ambuscade. Thereupon he went to Bato, the Brencian, and making common cause with him in the war, occupied a mountain named Alma. Here they were defeated by Rhoemetalces, the Thracian, who had been sent ahead against them by Severus, but resisted Severus himself vigorously. Later, when Severus withdrew to Moesia, because the Dacians and Sarmatians were

The Drave.

^{*} του . . . μέχη Oddey, του μέχην Μ. * προηττήθεζε Polak, ήστηθεζε Μ.

Σαυρομάτας πορθούντας αὐτήν ἀπάραντος, καὶ του Τιβερίου του τε Μεσσαλίνου εν Σισκία! έγγρονισάντων, τήν τε συμμαχίδα σφών έπέ-5 δραμον και συχνούς προσαπέστησαν, και ές μέν γείρας, καίπερ τοῦ Τιβερίου πλησιάσαντός σφισιν, ούκ ήλθον αυτώ, άλλοσε δὲ καὶ άλλοσε μεθιστάμενοι πολλά έπορθησαν της τε γάρ γώρας έμπείρως έχοντες και κούφως έσκευασμένοι, βαδίως όπη ποτέ έβουλουτο έχώρουν. και έπειδή γε ό γειμών ένέστη, πολύ πλείω έκακούργησαν καί ο γαρ και ές την Μακεδονίαν αύθις ένέβαλον, και τούτους μέν ο τε Ρυμητάλκης και ο άδελφος αύτου Ρασκύπορις μάχη κατέλαβον οι δέ δή άλλοι τη μέν χώρα σφών πορθουμένη μετά τούτο έπί τε Καικιλίου Μετέλλου και έπι Λικινίου² Σελανού υπάτων ούκ ἐπήμυναν, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ αναφυγόντες έκείθεν όπη παρείκοι καταδρομάς

31 Μαθών οὐν ταῦτα ὁ Αὕγουστος, καὶ ὑποπτεύσας ἐς τὸν Τιβέριον ὡς δυνηθέντα μὲν ἄν διὰ
ταχέων αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι, τρίβοντα δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες
ἴν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ
πολέμου προφάσει ἢ, πέμπει τὸν Γερμανικὸν καίτοι ταμιεύοντα, στρατιώτας οἱ οὐκ εὐγενεῖς μόνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξελευθέρους δούς, ἄλλους τε καὶ ὅσους
παρά τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν
δούλους, πρὸς τὰ τιμήματα αὐτῶν, σὺν τροφῆ
2 ἐκμήνο λαβῶν ἡλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο
πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν ἐξέτασιν τῶν ἱππέων τὴν ἐν τῆ ἀγορᾶ γυγνο-

έποιούντο.

Ziertig Xyl., esterilat M. Atendou Bit., Atendou M.

ravaging it, and Tiberius and Messallinus were tarry- 1.0.6 ing in Siscia, the Dalmatians overran the territory of their allies and caused many more to revolt. And although Tiberius approached them, they would engage in no pitched battle with him, but kept moving from one place to another, causing great devastation; for, owing to their knowledge of the country and the lightness of their equipment, they could easily proceed wherever they pleased. And when winter set in they did much greater damage, for they even invaded Macedonia again. As for these forces, now, Rhoemetalces and his brother Rhasevporis checked them by a battle; and as for the others, they did not come to the defence of their country when it was later ravaged (in the consulship *1.7 of Caccilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus), but took refuge in the mountain fortresses, from which they made raiding expeditions whenever the chance offered.

When Augustus learned of these things, he began to be suspicious of Tiberius, who, as he thought, might speedily have overcome the Daimatians, but was delaying purposely, in order that he might be under arms as long as possible, with the war as his excuse. He therefore sent out Germanicus, although he was only a quaestor, and gave him an army composed not only of free-born citizens but also of freedmen, including those whom he had freed from slavery by taking them from their masters and mistresses on payment of their value and the cost of their maintenance for six months. This was not the only measure he took to meet the need occasioned by the war, but he also postponed the review of the knights, which was wont to occur in the Forum. And he

μένην άνεβάλετο, κατά τε της παυηγύρεως της μεγάλης ηύξατο, ότι γυνή τις ές του βραχίουα 3 γράμματα άττα έντεμούσα έθείασε τινα. ήσθετο μέν γάρ ότι ούκ έκ θεού κατέσχητο άλλ' έκ παρασκευής αυτο έπεποιήκει έπειδή δε το πλήθος άλλως τε και δια τους πολέμους του τε λιμόν, δς και τότε αθθις συνέβη, δεινώς εταράττετο, πιστεύειν τε καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν ἐπλάττετο. και πάνθ' όσα παραμυθήσεσθαι τον όμιλον ήμελ-4 λεν ώς καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἔπραττε. καὶ ἐπί γε τῆ σιτοδεία δύο αὐθις έκ των ύπατευκότων έπιμελητάς του σίτου σύν βαβδούχοις ἀπέδειξε. προσδεόμενος δε δη χρημάτων ές τε τους πολέμους και ές την τών νυκτοφυλάκων τροφήν, τό τε τέλος το της πεντηκοστής έπι τη των ανδραπόδων πράσει έσήγαγε, καὶ το άργύριον το τοίς στρατηγοίς τοίς τας όπλομαχίας ποιούσιν έκ του δημοσίου διδόμενου έκελευσε μηκέτ αναλίσκεσθαι.

32 Τον δὲ δὴ Γερμανικόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν 'Αγρίππαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἔξέπεμψεν, ὅτι δουλοπρεπής τε ἐκεῖνος ἢν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡλιεύετο, ὅθενπερ καὶ Ποσειδῶνα ἐαυτὸν ἐπωνόμαζε, τῆ τε ὁργῆ προ2 πετεὶ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τὴν Λιονίαν ώς μητρυιὰν ὅιέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ τε τῷ 'Αὐγούστφ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρώων ἐπεκάλει. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσωφρονίζετο, ἀπεκηρύχθη, καὶ ἥ τε οὐσία αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ταμιείω εἰδόθη, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Πλανασίαν τὴν πρὸς Κύρνω νήσον ἐνεβλήθη.

nociar Lipsins, Toolias M.
Tourise Bk., Tausies M.

made a vow with reference to the Megalensian and games because some woman had cut some letters on her arm and practised some sort of divination. knew well, to be sure, that she had not been possessed by any divine power, but had done this thing deliberately; but inasmuch as the populace was terribly wrought up over both the wars and the famine (which had now set in once more), he, too, affected to believe the common report and proceeded to do anything that would make the crowd cheerful, regarding such measures as necessary. And in view of the dearth of grain he appointed two ex-consuls commissioners of the grain supply, granting them lictors. And as there was need of more money for the wars and for the support of the night-watchmen, he introduced the tax of two per cent, on the sale of slaves, and he ordered that the money which was regularly paid from the public treasury to the practors who gave gladiatorial combats should no longer be expended.

The reason why he sent Germanicus and not Agrippa to take the field was that the latter possessed an illiberal nature, and spent most of his time in fishing, by virtue of which he used to call himself Neptune. He used to give way to violent anger, and spoke ill of Livia as a stepmother, while he often reproached Augustus himself for not giving him the inheritance his father had left him. When he could not be made to moderate his conduct, he was banished and his property was given to the military treasury; he himself was put ashore on Planasia, the island

near Corsica.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ πόλει ἐγένετο τοῦ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικοῦ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἐλθόντος καὶ στρατευμάτων πολλαχόθεν ἐκεῖσε συνιόντων, τηρήσαντες οἱ Βάτωνες τὸν Σεουῆρον ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας προσιόντα ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ ἀπροσδόκητοι, στρατοπεδευομένω πρὸς τοῖς Ουολκαίοις ἔλεσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω τοῦ ταφρεύματος ἐψόβησαν καὶ κατήραξαν ἐς αὐτό, δεξαμένων δὲ σφας τῶν ἔνδον ἡττήθησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ 'Ρωμαΐοι νεμηθέντες, ὅπως πολλαχῷ ἄμα τῆς χώρας κατατρέχωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οἰδὲν ἄξιον λόγου τότε γε ἔδρασαν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γερμανικός Μαζαίους Δελματισές

κου έθυος μάχη νικήσας έκάκωσεν.

38 Έν μεν δη τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνω ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη. Μάρκου δὲ δη Φαυρίου μετὰ Σέξτου Νωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δελμάται καὶ οἱ Παννόνιοι συμβῆναι διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λιμῷ, εἶτα καὶ νόσω ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πόαις τέ τισιν ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ρίζαις χρώμενοι, πονηθῆναι, οὖκ ἐπεκηρυκεύσαντο δὲ κωλυσάντων τῶν μηδεμίαν παρὰ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐχόντων.

2 άλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀντείχου. καὶ Σκενόβαρδός τέ τις προσποιησάμενος μεταστήσεσθαι, καὶ πέμψας κατ αὐτό τούτο πρὸς Μάνιου Έννιου φρούραρχου Σισκίας ι ὡς ἔτοιμος μὲν ὡν αὐτομολήσαι, δεδιὸς

δέ μη προπάθη 2. . . .

3 Padus, quem Italiae soli fluviorum regem dicunt cognomento Eridanus, ab Augusto imperatore latis-

Liouias Bk., evieusa M.

Between sporably and pairs chap, 34! four follow are lacking in M.

These were the events in the city. After Germanicus reached Pannonia and armies were assembling there from many sides, the two Batos waited until Severus approached from Moesia and then fell upon him unexpectedly, while he was encamped near the Volcacan marshes. They frightened the pickets outside the ramparts and drove them back inside, but when the men in the camp stood their ground, the attackers were defeated. After this the Romans were divided into detachments, in order that they might overrun many parts of the country at once; most of these detachments did nothing worthy of note, at least not at that time, but Germanicus conquered in battle and barassed the Mazaei, a Dalmatian tribe.

These were the achievements of that year. In some the consulship of Marcus Furius and Sextus Nonius, the Dalmatians and Pannonians desired to make terms, because they were afflicted first by famine and then by disease that followed it, since they were using for food roots and strange herbs. They did not, however, make any overtures, being hindered by those who had no hope of being spared by the Romans, but even in their distress still resisted. And one, Scenobardus, who had pretended he was going to change sides and with reference to this very matter had sent to Manius Ennius, the commander of the garrison in Siscia, as if he were ready to desert, became afraid that he might suffer harm beforehand.

The Po, which, under the name Eridanus, they call the king of the rivers that cleave the soil of Italy, had its waters let into a very wide canal by the

This is the usual name of the river in Greek.

sima fossa demissus, qui septima sui alvei parte per mediam influit civitatem, ad ostia sua amoenissimum portum praebens, classem ducentarum quinquaginta navium, Dione referente, tutissima dudum credebatur recipere statione.—Jordanes, Get. 29, 150.

Αωφήσαντος δέ ποτε τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐπὶ τε τῷ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ ὁνόματι, ὸς ἡν τοῦ Δρούσου παῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐπποδρομίας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐλέφας τε ῥινοκέρωτα κατεμαχέσατο καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐππεὺς πλούτοι ποτέ

προενεγκών εμονομάχησε.

5 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ γήρα καὶ τῆ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεία ἔκαμνεν, ὅστε μὴ δύνασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τι αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ διεσκόπει καὶ ἐδίκαζεν, ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος, τὰς δὲ δὴ πρεσβείας τάς τε παρὰ τῶν ὅήμων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνουμένας τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅστὰ αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἔκαστον καὶ διακούειν τινῶν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς διδόναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκαῖον ἡν τήν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιδιακρίνειν.— Χίρh. 114, 15-30.

34 . . . μέντοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστάτοις ἀπεφαίνετο, ὅπως ἰδιοβουλεῖν ἄπασιν ἐξείη καὶ μηδεἰς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης, ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκην τινὰ συμφρονῆσαί οἱ ἔχων, ἐξίσταιτο,"

Emperor Augustus. A seventh part of the stream of this river flows through the centre of the city. I affording at its mouth a most attractive harbour, which was formerly believed, according to Dio, to be a thoroughly safe anchorage for a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships.

When at last the famine had abated, he conducted games in the Circus in the name of Germanicus, who was son of Drusus, and in that of Germanicus brother. On this occasion an elephant overcame a rhinoceros and a knight who had once been distinguished for his wealth fought in single combat.

Now when Augustus was growing weary by reason of old age and the feebleness of his body, so that he could not attend to the business of all those who needed his care, though he continued personally, with his assistants, to investigate judicial cases and to pass judgment, scated on the tribunal in the palace, he entrusted to three ex-consuls the embassies sent to Rome by peoples and kings; these, sitting separately, gave audience to such embassies and made answer to them, except in matters in which the final decision had of necessity to be rendered by the senate and Augustus.

It had been Augustus' practice hitherto to attend all the meetings of the senate, though he did not,] however, declare his opinion among the first, but among the last, his purpose being that all might be permitted to form their views independently and no one should abandon his own judgment, as though he were under any necessity of agreeing with the emperor; and he would often sit with the magis-

² Ravenna.

² Clanding, who later became emperor.

τοίς τε άργουσι πολλάκις συνελίκαζε και οσάκις γε οί παρεδρεύουτές σφισιν έδιγογνωμόνουν, καί ή εκείνου ψήφος άπο της ίσης ταις των άλλων 2 ήριθμείτο, τότε δε τη μέν γερουσία και άνευ έαυτου τὰ πολλά δικάζειν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐς δὲ τὸν δήμον οικέτι παρήει, άλλα τω μέν προτέρω έτει πάντας τους άρξοντας αυτός, ἐπειδήπερ ἐστασιάζετο, απέδειξε, τούτω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα γράμματά τινα εκτιθείς συνίστη τω τε πλήθει 3 και τω δήμω όσους έσπουδαζε, προς μέντοι τάς τών πολέμων διαγειρίσεις ούτως έρρωτο ώσθ. Το έγγοθεν και έπι τοις Δελμάταις και έπι τοις Παυνονίοις πῶν ὅ τι χρη συμβουλεύειν έχη, πρὸς Αρίμανον εξώρμησε. και έπι τε τη εξόδω αὐτοῦ εύχαι έγένοντο, και έπι τη έπανόδω αί θυσίαι ώσπερ έκ πολεμίας τινός άνακομισθέντος έτελέσθησαν.

Ταύτα μεν εν τη 'Ρώμη επράχθη, εν δε τούτω ο Βάτων ο Βρεύκος, ο τον τε Πίννην προδούς καὶ μισθου τούτου την άρχην των Βρεύκων λαβών, έάλω τε ύπο του έτέρου Βάτωνος και διεφθάρη. 5 έπειδή γαρ υποπτεύσας τι ές το υπήκοον όμήρους καθ' έκαστον των φρουρίων περιών ήτει, μαθών τουτ έκεινος ενήδρευσέ που αυτόν, και μάγη κρατήσας κατέκλεισεν ες τείχος, και μετά τουτ έκδοθέντα ύπὸ των ένδον λαβών παρήγαγέ τε ές το στρώτευμα, και καταψηφισθέντα άποθανείν 6 εν γεραίν εποίησε. γενομένου δε τούτου συχνοί τών Παννονίων έπανέστησαν, και αυτοίς ο

" wapuler R. Steph., wepler M. I abroit Rk., abras M.

¹ dayayenmirone Morell, idexayennous M.

trates as they tried cases. Also, whenever those who sees sat in judgment with him found themselves in disagreement, the emperor's vote was counted as no more than equal to that of any other judge. But at the time to which I refer, Augustus allowed the senate to try most cases without him, and he gave up attending the popular assemblies. Instead, he had the year before personally appointed all who were to hold office, because there were factional outbreaks, and in this and the following years he merely posted a bulletin recommending to the plebs and to the people those whom he favoured. Yet he was so vigorous when it came to directing campaigns against the enemy that he proceeded to Ariminum in order that he might be near at hand to give all necessary advice in regard to both the Dalmatians. and the Pannonians. On his departure vows were made, and on his return the sacrifices customary when he came back from the enemy's country were offered.

This was what was done in Rome. Meanwhile, Bato, the Breucian, who had betrayed Pinnes and had received the right to rule over the Breucians as his reward, was captured by the other Bato and put to death. The Breucian, it seems, had been somewhat suspicious of his subject tribes and had gone round to each of the garrisons to demand hostages; and the other, learning of this, lay in wait for him somewhere or other, defeated him in battle, and shut him up in a stronghold. Later, when the Breucian was delivered over by those inside, he took him and brought him before the army, and then, when he had been condemned, put him to death on the spot. After this many of the Pannonians rose in revolt,

481

Σιλουανός ἐπιστραπεύσας τούς τε Βρεύκους ἐνίκησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς ἀμαχεὶ προσεποιήσατο. ἰδων τῶν ταῦτα ὁ Βάτων τῆς μὲν Παννονίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ ἐλπίδα ἔσχε, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν Δελματίαν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐσόδους φρουραῖς διαλαβών ἐκείνην τὰπόρθει. καὶ οῦτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Παννονίων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς χώρας σφῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιλουανοῦ κακουμένης, ὡμολόγησαν, πλὴν καθ΄ ὅσον ληστικά τινα οἰα ἐκ ταραχῆς τοσαύτης ἐπὶ πλείον κακουργοῦντα διεγένετο, ὅπερ που καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν παρά τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις μάλιστα συμβαίνει.

BOOK LV

and Silvanus made a campaign against them, conquered the Breucians, and won over some of the
others without a battle. Bato, on seeing this, gave
up all hope of Pannonia, but occupied the passes
leading to Dalmatia with garrisons and ravaged that
country. Then at last the remainder of the Pannonians also came to terms, chiefly for the reason
that their country was being harried by Silvanus.
However, certain bands of brigands continued their
forays for a long time, as was natural after so great a
disturbance; indeed, this nearly always happens, not
only among other peoples, but especially in the case
of these tribes.



(All dates are B.C. union otherwise stated.)

Aips, the. 250, 263, 407; Triden-Achain, 405 Agragadla, the, 200 Actia, festival in bonour of Actium, Amyutas, king of Galatia, 7, 21, Actium, buttle of, 3 L, 15, 61, 195 f. Anthoch, 23 Adduo, 419 Antiochus, king of Commagene, 191 Antonium, C. See Vetus. Antonium, M. Aurelius, 457 Antonium, M. Aurelius (Caracalla), Aegina, 200 Acmiltos, L. (perhaps the same as Paulus Acmilius Lepidus), 267 Assembasions, 23 Africa, 17, 29
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, honoured after Actium, 11, 59, 195 f.; Antonius, C. (cos, 63), 75 Antonius, Julius, son of the triumvir, 45, 351, 379, 418
Antouy, Mark, flight of, after
Actions, 5, 13 f.; to Egypt, 15,
30; death of, 31; character of,
41 f.; other references to, 7 f. advises Octavian against establishing a monarchy, 70-109, 185; censor, 187; public works super-vised by, 253, 263 f., 311 f.; indicated as Augustus' successor, 13, 37 L, 45, 51 L, 67, 119, 189, 199, 285, 279, 299, 395, 351, 459 271-75; retirement to Lesbos, 275; restoration to favour, 297 f. 319, 355; military exploits of, 309 f., 345 f., 355; death and character of, 357-05; funeral Antylius, son of preceding, 17 f., 25,00 Aper, P. Salvins, 411 Apis, 47 f. Apollo, 5; temple of 195, 409 temple of, on Palatine, games in honour of, 300 f. Agrippa Postumus, son of preceding, 400, 451, 475 Apollonia, 471 Apodius (or Pacuvius) Sex., 247 Ahenobarbus, L. Domitius (cos. 16), 329, 417 Alban Mount, the, 275, 297 s., 361 Albie, the, 381, 417, 469 Apuleina, Sex. (cos. 29), 55, 59 Apulleins, Sex. (con, A.D. 14), 363 Apun Virgo, the, 311 Alexander the Great, 45 Alexander, brother of Iamblichus L. Aguila, freedman of Muscenss, 307 f. Aquitagia, 221 Arabia, 268 f., 453 Arabian Gulf (the Red Sea), 21 Alexander, son of Antony and Cleopatra, 43, 63 Alexandrian, 17, 29, 47 1, 53 Alexandrians, the, 27, 45 1, Alixo (or Eliza), the, rives in Arabians, the, 21, 3001 Archeiaus, king of Cappadocia, 7. Archelaus, king of Judaes, 465 and Germany, 369 a.

Areigo, a philosopher, 45, 175

485

Alma, mountain in Pannonio, 471

DIO \$1.

Artminum, 251, 461 Ariobaranies, 419 Aramenia, 45, 502, 403, 415, 419 Arameniana, the, 303, 413, 419 Arameniana, L. (cos. 22), 282 Aramtina, L. (cos. 22), 282 Aramtina, L. (cos. 22), 282 Aramtina, L. (cos. 23), 459 Aramtina, L. (cos. 24), 459 Artacil, the, 77 Artagira, 410 Artavasdes, king of Armenia, 17 Artavasdes, king of Media, 17, 45 Artaxes, 45, 303 Areaces, 50, 303
Asander, 345
Asia, 11, 15, 51, 57, 219, 299, 361
Asiana, the, 57
Astures, the, 57, 259 f., 267 f., 291
Athena, 55, 299
Atheniana, the, 299, 365
"Atheniana, the, party in naval
battle given in Rome, 409
Athenothera, a palitamenter, 175 Athenodorus, a philosopher, 175 Athens, 305 Athlula, 271 Augurium salutis, the, 57 August, name given to the monte. Sextilis, 395 Augusta, name given to Paplice, 343 Augusta Emerita, 261 Augusta Fractoria, 259
Augustalia, the, 507, 360
Augustus, parries. Significance of name, 165 m., 295, 241, 245 Bastica, 221
Baltus, D. Laslius (cos. 6), 401
Baltus, L. Cornelius, 347
Bastica of Neptune, the, 263
Bastica of Paulus, the, 342 f.
Bastica of Paulus, the, 342 f.
Bastavia, 365, 467
Batavians, the, 305, 457
Batavians, the, 305, 457
Bathyllus, 327
Bata a Reguelan chief, 100 f. Bato, a Breuclan chief, 160 t., 177,

Hato, a Dalmatian chief, 169 1, 477, 481 f.

Belgica, 221 Besel, the, 73, 333, 371 Bithyela, 59, 221, 290 Bocchus, 251

Resports, kingdom of, 345

Argonanta, picture of, 263

British ocean, the, 221 Britons, the, 205, 263, 277 Brundishum, 13, 51 Brutus, 119 Casple, Fannius, father and son, Cassar, C. Julius, 7, 9, 27, 35 f., 117, 187, 273, 335, 481; shrines of, 43, 57 f.; massashna of, 23 See man Juliga. Canar, C. Julius (Octavianus), passim. After 29 n.c. styled Augustus, g.s. Cansar, C., grandson of Augustus, 327, 331, 351 f., 395, 399-405. 409, 413-23. Caesar, L., brother of preceding, 327, 321, 399-405, 409, 415, 421 f. Caesar, as imperial title, 185, 241 Caesarinas, the disperial freedment, Cassarion, 17 L, 43 Calpurains, C. (actile 23), 270 Camilles, 107 Canallus, M. Purius (cos a.p. 5), 677 Camillus, M. Furius (Scribonianus). 455 Campanla, 353 f., 411 Campualans, the, 400 Campus Agrippae, the, 399 Campus Martins, the, 67, 197, 253, 337, 383 Camunul, the, 331 Candace, 293 f. Cantabri, the, 57, 250 f., 267 f., 203. Capitol, the, 201, 301, 340 f., 183, Cappadoria, 345 Caprino, 191 Carisina, P. (or T.1, 261, 293 Carriona, C., 61 Carthage, 191 Cassins, 119 Castor and Pollux, temple of, 463 Cedrus (or Cebrus), river in Monata,

Colts, the, 221 Conservans, C. Marcina (cos. 3), 591

Chalcidleum, name given to temple

of Minorya, 63

Breucians, the, 469 f., 481 f. Britain, 253, 259, 453 f.

Hogud, 261

Chatti, the, 367 f., 375, 381 Chauci, the, 365 Chersonesus, the, 359, 871 Cherniel, the, 367, 181 Chlon, 415 Clearo, son of the crater, 36 Cilcia, 21, 221, 203 Clana, 197 Cinna, Cn. Cornelius (Magnus), 427 449 f. Circensian games, 153, 195, 303, 351, 395, 407 f., 451, 470 Green Flaminus, the, 383, 400 Circus Maximus, the, 500, 500 Cirls, a cave, 75 Chullus, the emperor, 455, 465, 479; cf. 883 Cimpatra, 3 f., 15-43, 49 f., 61 f. Chargatra, daughter of preceding, 45, 43 Corle Syria, 991 Commagene, 191, 303 Concord (Concords), statue of, 373; temple of, 300, 405 Cornellus. See Clapa and Leatulus Coralca, 475 Cin. 23 Country. See Loutubus Colys, 231, 371 Crasses, M. Licinius, the triumete. Crassus, M. Licinias (nos 50), 13. 67-73 Crasses, M. Licinius (cos. 14), 345 Crete, 219 Crispians, Q. (pr. 2), 411 Crispians, T. Quinctins (cos. 9), 470 Curia Inlia, the, 63 Coria Octavine, the, 390 Curio, U Curtum, 209 Cyclonia, 7 Cyprus, 221, 291 Cyromaica, the, 210 f. Cythera, 299

Dacia, 453 t. Dacians, the, 65 f., 375, 471 Dalmatia, 213 f., 353, 371, 469, 483 Palmatians, the, 61, 369, 375, 383, 463-73, 477, 483 t. Daphne, town near Authoria, 23

Cycleus, 21, 296, 545

Dardani, the, 67, 77
Decii, the, 209
Decic, king of the Bastarmae, 71
Demeter, 11 n., 305 a.
Dentheetti, 69, 72, 332
Didus, Q., 21 f.
Dioxysus, 73, 371
Dirithorium, the, 399
Dumitian, 273, 457
Dumitian, 273, 457
Dumitian, 273, 457
Dumitian, L. See Ahenobathus
Dravus, river in Pennonia, 471
Dravus, M. Livius (Libb) (cos. 16), 335
Drusus, New Clamitus, 507, 331, 337 f., 355-85, 391, 336, 399, 485

Dynamie, wife of Asander, 345

Dapyx, chief or a tribe of the Getae,

Dyrrachium, 15

Edyrel, I., 15, 17, 21, 47, 51, 51 f., 200, 221 f., 255, 260, 263, 417

Edyrelians, the, 19, 27, 35, 43-47, 53

Elephantine, 293

Ethan (or Alico), the, 580

Enaine, M., 477

Epaphroditus, a freedman, 33, 39

Ephasus, 57

Ephasus, 219

Erato, queen of Armenia, 410

Eretria, 299

Eridams, Greek name for the Pa, 477

Ethiopia, 43

Ethiopia, 43

Ethiopians, the, 295 f.

Evecatt, the, 457

Ericlams, Greek name for the Pa.
477
Ethiopia, 43
Ethiopians, the, 295
Evecati, the, 487
Fabius, Faulus (Maximus) (cos. 11),
367
Fabius, Africanus Quintus (or Q. Fabius Maximus Africanus) (cos. 10), 370
Feriae Latinae, the, 270, 207, 325,
361 n., 383
Flacus, C. Norbanus (cos. 24), 268
Flaminian Way, the, 231
Flevo, Batavian Iske, 365 n.
Flores, Aquillus, father and son, 9
Fortues Redux, altar of, 307
Forms of Augustus, the, 167

Forum Remainum, the, 51, 273, 291, 301 n., 331, 381, 401, 407, 411

470

Media, 45

Frisians, the, 365 f. Fulvia, 17, 45 Furnius, C. (tr. 50), 189, 233 Fuentus, C. (cas. 17), 327

Castulia, 201 Gaetallane, the, 167 Galatia, 21, 261 Galba, the emperor, 11, 457 Gallfa (Gaul), 25, 205, 221, 253, 309, 333-39, 344, 347, 375; Lugdo-nensis, 375; Narbunensis, 189, 221, 291 Gallus, Aships, 259
Gallus, C. Ashiba (cos. 8), 391
Gallus, C. Cornelius, 25 f., 47, 255
Gallus, Euclus, 333
Gallus, Nonlus, 57
Gauls, the, 61, 253, 335, 365 Conseda, 75 tiermanions, title conferred upon Drusus and his sons, 383 Germanicus, son of Drusus, 425. 405, 478-70 Germans, the, 57, 61, 65, 221, 300, 333 f., 305, 375, 399, 417, 425, Germany, 471; provinces of, 221, 333, 847, 309 f., 458-57, 469 Greece, 1L, 15, 50, 67, 97, 219, 209 Greeks, the, 90, 305, 409, 421 i.

Haseman, 60, 77 Helios, name gives to Alagander, son of Cleopatra, 63 Hellenes, name given by Augustus to foreigners living in Asiataprovinces, 57 Hercules, Pillars of, 209 Hermes, statues of, 305 Mecanisduct, the, 117 Herod the Great, 505 Repod Archelaus. See Archelaus Honor, feetival of, 227 Horatius, 200

Involution I., Arab ablettain, 7, 303 familiahus H., son of preceding. 1300 lapydes, the, 61 Imperator, use of term under the empire, 185 1, 217 India, 305

Isaurians, the, 467 Istor, the, 67, 77, 333, 375, 413, 417 Istians, the, 75 Istianue of Corioth, the, 15, 485 Italy, 9 f., 15, 57 f., 113, 123, 113-37, 189, 225, 231, 321, 322 f. 391, 457, 471, 477 lulius Antonius. See Antonius

lotage, daughter of Artavasdes of

Janus, temple of, 57, 263, 275 Julia L. 43, 235 Juba 11., 43, 281, 467 Judaea, 453
Judaea, 453
Judaea, 453
Judaea, 453
Judaea, 453
205, 301, 363, 473, 383, 405, 411 f., 425 Julius, the hero (i.e. Divus), shrines of, 51, 57, 63 f., 373

Inventor, temple of, 331

Juno, 63 Jupiter Capitolinus, 63, 231, 340, 281, 407 n., 400; priest of, 145, 375. J. Peretrins, 101, 101 J. Toungs, 2011

Lacednenumians, the 283, 591 Lacus Fievo, the, 565 a. Lacus Venetus, the, 319 and a. Lamps (or Lappa), fown in Cres. 7 Lampaeaus, the, 7 Lancia, town in Spain, 241 Largus Valerius, 251 f. Legions, list of, 453-57 Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius (coa. 18),

Leatulus, Co. Cornolius (cos. 14),

Lenguine, Cossus Cornelius for Co. Cornellos Lautubia Cousta) (cost. 33, 467

Lentulus, P. Cornellus (Marcellinus)

(cos. 18), 313 Lepidos, M. Aemilius, the triamvir, 119, 191, 199, 256, 319 f., 355 Lepidus, M. Aemilius, son of pre-

coding, 319 Lepidus, M. Acmillus (cos. 4.15, 6),

459 Lepidus, Paulus Aemilius (cons. 22), 285, 345. See also Aemilius Lepidus, Q. Aemilina (cos. 21), 265

Leabor, 275 Libo, M. See Drasses Libya, 210 f. Licinus, a Gaul, 335 f. Ligurians, the, 345 Lightant, 1971 Limyra, 421 Livin, 37, 279, 299, 329, 343, 383 f., 399, 405, 421, 475; advises Augustus to be constitutory Augustus to be constitutory Adjustes to be constately toward his ensured to 29-51; precinct dedicated to, 200 Loffus, M. (cos. 21), 295, 333 Lacettus, See Vispillo Laul Megalmana, 473 Ludi Romani, 273 Lodi Sasculares, 329 Lugdungus, 365 Lupla, river in Germany, 365 60 Lyenoula, 201 Lycia, 421 Lycotnedes, 7

Massalonia, 3, 67 L. 77, 219, 287, 323, 371, 473 Maccenas, 11, 289, 297, 327, 331, 343, 305-90; advises Octavian in favour of a monarchy, 72. 100-195 Marcellus, M. Claudius (Acceruinus) (ens. 22), 283, 299 Marcelles, M. Clandius, nephew of Augustus, 50, 261, 265 ft, 271-75, 279, 349; theatre of, 278, 349 Marcomannian territory, the, 417 Marins, 107, 117 Marius, the younger, 107 Mars, states of, 263; Mars Ulter, temple of, 301, 407 f. Mazzei, the, 477 Mode, the See Artavasdes Medelus, 7 Merula, 375 Mesopotamba, 457
Mesoalla, L. Valerius (Voineus) (con.
a.0. 5), 451
Mesoalla, M. Valerius (Corvinus) (con. 51), 23, 255
Mesoalla, M. Valerius (Barbatus) (cos. 12), 353
Mesoalla, M. Valerius (Mesoalliuus) (cos. 12), 353

(cos. 3), 169-73 Messalin, Potitus Valerius (cos. 20),

Metclius, 107 Metelius, Q. Cascilius (Creticus (cos. A.D. 7), 473 Milliarium aureum, the, 501 Minerva, temple of, 63 Mithridates the Great, 5 a., 345 Mithridates II., king of Commisgene, 303 Moesla, 65-69, 73, 77, 203, 458-57, 471, 477 Moeslans, the, 65, 69 L., 77 Morial, the, 61 Musia, mother of Sex. Pompey, 9 Muelus, 200 Murana, Licinius, 230 Mana, Automius, 27t 1. Mystans, the. 7 Mysteries of the two goddeses. It.

Napata, 205 Nespolis, 341, 409 Venjoditans, the, 191, 409 Neptune, name taken by Agrippa Postumas, 475 Naro, Ti. Claudius, 465. Charlina Nero, the emperor, 455 Scrva, A. Licinias (Siliands of Silanus) (cos. A.b. 7), 379, 473 Narva, P. Silius (cos. 20), 299, 331 I. Nicaea, city in Bithynia, 57 Nicomedia, city in hithynia, M Nicopolis, city near Actium, 5 Nicopolis, city in Cappadocia, h n. Nicopolis, city in Raypi, 49 Norbanas, C. See Placeus Northern owent (North Seat, the 391 Norici, the, 331 f Norloum, 337, 457

Numbila, 210, 463 Octavia, eleter of Augustus, 43, 373 Odrysae, the, 73, 287

Olymplan gauses, thu, 153

Pacceptus (or Apudlus) Sex., 247 Paetus, Articuleius, 317 Palatine, the, 195, 235, 265, 343 Palatium, the, 275, 423 Palestine, 465 Pamphylia, 201, 371 Parathenale featival, the, say

Pandateria, 411 Pantheon, the, 263, 233 Pannenia, 77, 205, 355, 275, 463-37, 459, 477 Pannoulans, the, \$1, 331 f., 345, 355, 365 f., 360 f., 333, 466, 477, 481 f. Paphlans, the, 343 Paphos, 343 Paraetonium. 25, 29 Parisas, the, 405 Parthians, the, 51, 55, 413, 419 Paulus, basilica of, 343 f. Passellypon, 341 Pax, statue of, 273 Peloponness, Isthmus of (Isthmus of Cornth), 15 Pelustum, 27 f. Pergamentane, the, 59 Pergamum, 57 Persian Gulf, the, 21 s.

"Persians," the, party in navat-battle given at Rome, 409 Petroulus, C. (or P.), 293 f. Pharages, 205, 345 Pallippi, 15, 365 Philopater, son of Tarcondinastus. Phorbo, freedwoman of Julia, 413 Phoenicia, 221, 483 Phraates, 51, 265, 275 m., 277 f., Phratages, 415-19 Pillars of Hercoics, the, 200 Pinnes, Pannonian chief, dat Pino, Cn. Calpurulus (cos. 23), 271 Pino, Cn. Calpurulus (cos. 7), 259 Pino, L. Calpurulus (cos. 15), 335, 371 371
Piancela, 475
Plances, L. Munatius, 285
Plances, L. Munatius, brother of preceding, 285
Po, the, 477 f.
Polla, sister of Asrippa, 369
Pollis, Ster of Asrippa, 369
Pollio, Vodius, 232–43
Pompey the Great, 5 m., 107, 117, 285, 489 255, 429 Pompey Sextua, 7, 13 Pontus, 7, 221, 237, 345 Potitus, Valerius, See Massalia Prastorians, the, 135, 340, 1): Primus, M., 287 f. Provaletus, C., 33, 355 f., 280 Payill, the, 41

Piolemies, the, bodies of, 47 Piolemy, son of Antony and Cleopatra, 43 Putcoll, 341 Pylades, a dancer, 327, 411 Pyrances, the, 259 Pythian garnes, the, 153

Quintillanus, Ser. Nontus (cos. A.D. 5), 477 Quirinus, F. Sulpictus (cos. 12), 355 Quirinus, temple of, 329

Ravenna, 450
Red Sea, 4bc, 10 f.
Red Sea, 4bc, 10 f.
Regulus, 200
Regulus, Licinius, 317
Rhaetia, 457
Rhaetias, the, 337 f.
Rhaeta, 457
Rhaetias, the, 337 f.
Rhiae, 450, 61, 65, 207, 221, 333, 365-69, 851 f., 393, 417, 457
Rhodes, 405 f., 421
Rhodope, 55
Rhoemetaless, king of Thrace, 333, 371, 471 f.
Rolls, king of a tribe of the Getar, 71 f.
Romans, the, passein
Rome, 11-15, 47, 57 f., 83, 153 f. 245, 223, 297, 301, 309
Romales, 235; hat of, 261
Rufus, M. Egnatius, 257
Rufus, P., 403 f.

Salos, king of Arabia Felis, 280
Sacred Way, she, 331
Saepte, the, 253, 461, 400
Salassi, the, 250
Salosses, 471
Salos Publica, status of, 473
Samoa, 200, 305
Sardiale, 221, 467
Sarmattans, the, 323, 471
Saturattans, the Saturatta, 77
Sacuss, river in Panastia, 77
Saepula, Q. Oatorius, 411
Scarpus, L. Pinarius, 17, 33

Scaurus, M., half-brother of Sex. Pompey, 7 t. Semobardus, 477 Sciplo, P. Cornelius (Africanus). Sciple, P. Cornellus (ess. 18), 329 Beordisci, the, 333, 365 Scribothes, pretended grandson of Mithridates, 345 Scythians, the, 77; ct. 05 t. Segetica, 69 Selene, name given to Ci-opatra. daughter of Cleopaira, 93 Sentius, C. See Saturniaus September, 3, 395 Serapls, 45 Serdl, the, 73 Sertorius, 119 Servilles, P. (pr. 25), 265 Sestius, L. (cos. 23), 277 Severus, A. Cascina, 471, 477 Severus, L. Septimius, emperor, 47 Sestilus, name of, changed to August. 495 Application BAHAR Sextor. See Pompey Statetae, the, 371 Sthylline verses, the, 345 Stelly, 9, 189, 296, 299, 209 Siden, 301 #flanus, M. Juntus (coa. 25), 250 Silanas, Licinius. See Nerva. Silina, P. See Norva. Silvanus, L., 205 f. Sinope, 345 Strainin, town in Pannenia, 400 L. Shela, town in Panagula, 477 Slacana, Coonelius, 355 Sites, king of the Denthelett, 69, 73 Solota, 722 Sostus, C., 7 Spain, 19, 25, 29, 221, 253, 253, 267 L, 308, 323, 343, 347, 457 Spaniards, the, 247

Spolis opima, the, 71 Statillus, Q. (tc. 20), 187 Strato, 107

Surrentum, 191

Sudatorium Lacontoum, the 263 Suebi, the, 61, 65 f., 384 Sugambri, the, 233, 395 f., 375, 393 Sulla, 61, 107, 147 f.

Syracuse, 200 Syria, 24-25, 40 L. 275, 205, 200,

391, 355, 416-10, 452, 459

Tareondimotos, son of preceding, Tareatum, 63 Tarraco, 221, 26) Taurus, T. Statilins (cos. 26), 57 67, 253, 331 Taurus, Sex. Pacuvius, 247 m. Toneterl, the, 333 Terestia, wife of Maccounts, 129 Theatre of Balbus, 347; of Muscellus, 273, 349 Thrace, 69, 77, 333, 371 Thracians, the, 65, 73 Thraspilus, 421 f. Thurydides, 17 a. Thyraus, a freedman, 25 t Fiber, the, 245, 251, 279, 283, 347, 425, 451 Tiberim, political honours received by, 261, 267, 307, 351, 347, 363 L. 399, 493; military exploits of, 503 f., 337 f., 303-75, 383, 303 f. 169-73; sent to Bhodes, 402, 113 f.; recalled, 425; adopted by Augustas, 425; other references to, 101, 253, 459, 465 Tribates, 51, 277 f., 419 Tres. 397 n. Titana, the. 75 Peraulus (or Thornause, C. (tr. 25). Trajan, 457 Treveri, the, 57 Tribalk, the, 56 L, 77 "Troy," game of, 65, 351 Tubero, Q. Asiles (son. 11), 367 Turalins, P., 23 Tyre, 301

Tarcondimputar, king of Cilicia, 7.

Usipetes, the, 333, 365 f.

Vaccasi, the, 57
Valertee, M. Sos Mescalla
Vandafic modulation, the, 331
Varro, A. Terantius (Murena) (cos. 23), 259
Varus, P. Alisaus (cos. 3.0, 2), 418
Varus, P. Quintilius (cos. 13), 347, 453 m.
Vanul (or Vancanes), the, 331

Venus, temple of, 65; statue of, 263 Vespaalan, 457 Veata, temple of, 343; sintue of, 405 Vestal Virgins, the, 53, 343, 353, 451f. Vetus, U. Antistius (cos. 6), 401 Victory, statue of, 63 Vigintiesviri and Vigintiviri, the, 351 f. Vinicius, M., 263 Vinicius, P. (cos. 4.D. 2), 412 Virtus, festival of, 327

Viapillo (or Vespillo), Q. Lucretins food, 13), 307 Viscorgis, river in Gormany, 367, 361, 469 Vitellins, Q. 65 Volcasan marshes, the, 477 Volcasan marshes, the, 477 Volcasan marshes, the, 477

Zarmarus, an Indian, 306 f. Zanodorus, tetrarch of Trachonitis, 303 Zyraxes, king of a tribe of the Octac, 75 f.

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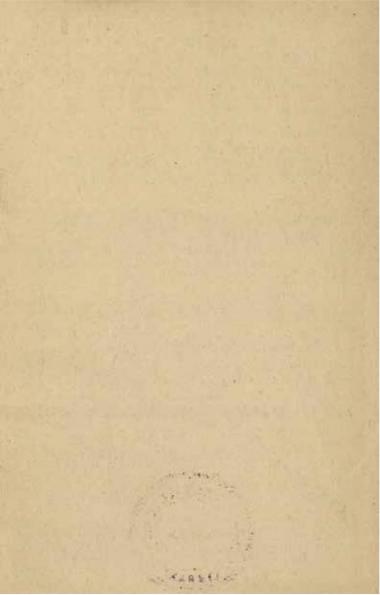
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